

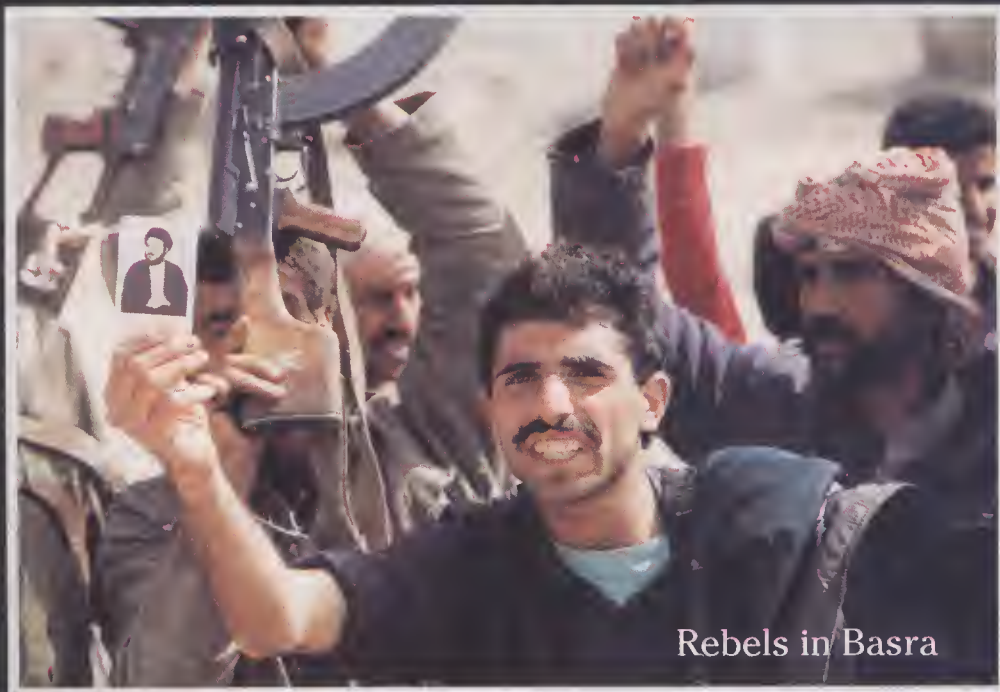
BRUTALITY ON THE BEAT

L.A.'s Cops Under Fire

Newsweek

March 25, 1991 : \$2.50

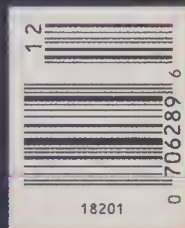
REVOLT



Rebels in Basra

IN IRAQ

Bush Keeps the Pressure On





First, there's the character who parks too close to your car in the lot. Then, there's the kid down the block with a great future as a pitcher. And of course, there are always shopping carts.

“If you think about all the unpleasant surprises your car faces in a day, making the body-side panels dent-resistant starts to make sense.”

Marcel Cannon's been thinking about all those surprises. He's a body engineer at Saturn who runs lots of tests, smashing cars into things and things into cars. Just like a car's real life.

The shopping cart test is one of the more



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world around us to see the value of a durable finish.

"The idea behind all this is pretty simple," Marcel explains. "To make a car that looks good the day you bring it home, and looks good years later when you want to trade it in."



And, we might add, to park wherever you want. And not worry about shopping carts.

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Shiite Muslim insurgents in Basra display a photo of their leader

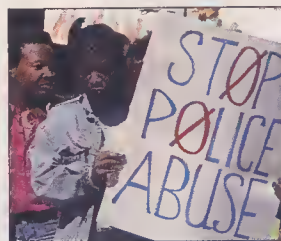
Bad Days for Baghdad

THE GULF REVOLT IN IRAQ

The noose tightened around Saddam Hussein last week. Even as he struggled to suppress a Shiite Muslim insurrection, he faced growing rebellion among Kurdish nationalists. His savage response included combat roles for helicopter gunships, provoking U.S. officials to warn him that allied forces might prolong their occupation of Iraq, or even resume hostilities. The administration hoped to hasten a coup that would topple the dictator before his country disintegrated. **Special Report: Page 16**

Brutality on the Beat

The videotaped beating of a black suspect by white Los Angeles cops kindled a national outrage, and last week four police officers were indicted for their role in the incident. Critics called for the resignation of Police Chief Daryl Gates, and Attorney General Richard Thornburgh announced a nationwide review of police brutality. **National Affairs: Page 32**



Protest in Los Angeles

Annenberg Picks the Met

For years the art world has played a guessing game: which museum would get Walter Annenberg's magnificent collection of 52 impressionist and postimpressionist art works? Last week speculation ceased when the philanthropist announced he was bequeathing his cache of van Goghs, Picassos and the like to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. **The Arts: Page 50**



New York bound: Gauguin's 'Siesta'

Special Report

Iraq: the noose tightens (the cover)	16
Now another Lebanon?	20
A turning point for Teheran	22
Tired of waiting in Kuwait	23
Baby steps for Arab-Israeli peace	25
Can Arafat survive his latest blunder?	26
Hellfighters to the rescue	27
The POWs' tales of horror	31

Nation

Brutality on the beat	32
Why it happened: an L.A. cop's view	34
A search for anticrime strategies	35
Demonizing the '60s	39
A star's crash landing	39

International

Yugoslavia: "This is just the beginning"	40
Major's gulf glow	42
Have rebels, will travel	43
Salvador: a rebel victory	43

Business

Is an insurance crisis next?	44
The rise and fall of a high roller	46
Maxwell buys the Daily News	47
A burger lover's lament	48
How to lobby Washington, Hollywood style	48
Jane Bryant Quinn	49

The Arts

Art: Giving well is the best revenge	50
Movies: Night of the living crackheads	52
Books: A down-and-out producer bites back	54
Antiseptic porn for the literary set	
Music: Young composers get set to shine	55

Lifestyle

Food: Down on the fish farm	56
Sole on ice	58
Media: A spy sees red	59
Fashion: Not-so-groovy threads	63

Departments

Periscope	5
My Turn	10
Letters	14
Perspectives	15
George F. Will	65
Newsmakers	68
Transition	68

Cover: Photo by M. Shandiz—
Sygma.

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A New Generation of Leadership

When Katharine Graham, 73, stepped down last week as chief executive officer of The Washington Post Company, which owns NEWSWEEK, the move closed one chapter and opened another in an extraordinary journalistic saga. Graham's nearly three decades of leadership included the tumult of Watergate, the publication of the Pentagon papers, as well as unprecedented growth for the company. The Post Co. will now be led by a new generation headed by Mrs. Graham's son, Donald E. Graham, 45, the new president and CEO. Don Graham, also publisher of The Washington Post, will be joined by Alan Spoon, 39, currently president of NEWSWEEK, who was named executive vice president and chief operating officer of the parent company. Spoon replaces Richard D. Simmons, 56, who

is retiring after a decade as president, but will remain on the corporation's board and as president of the International Herald Tribune, in which the Post Co. owns a one-third interest. "The biggest responsibility of any group of managers is to bring along their successors," said Mrs. Graham, who will continue as chairman of the board. "Don has proven himself by running the Post very, very well."

At NEWSWEEK, Richard M. Smith, 45, adds the job of president to his duties as editor-in-chief. Maynard Parker, 50, the editor, will assume day-to-day responsibility for editorial operations. "I'm proud to work for an organization where editorial quality is absolutely consistent with good business," said Smith. "My role models for that are Kay Graham and Don Graham."



Simmons



Spoon



Donald E. Graham and Katharine Graham



Smith



Parker



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RAP

Mr. President and Eazy-E

Arnold Schwarzenegger belongs. So do George Shultz, Estée Lauder and Joe Coors. Now Eric (Eazy-E) Wright of the rap group N.W.A. (Niggers With Attitude) is also a member of the Republican Senatorial Inner Circle, an elite group of GOP high rollers. Eazy-E was invited to join last month by Texas Sen. Phil Gramm. "I believe your accomplishments... prove you worthy of membership," wrote Gramm. Among those accomplishments: N.W.A.'s megahit record "F--- tha Police." E, a Bush fan, ponied up the \$2,500 dues, and this week he and a partner are off to D.C. for a luncheon with the president.

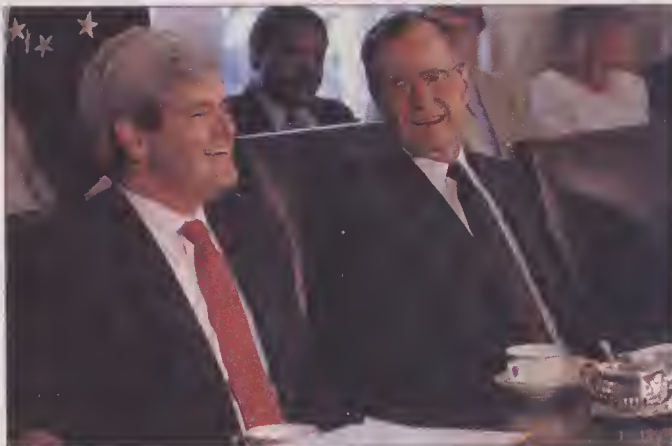
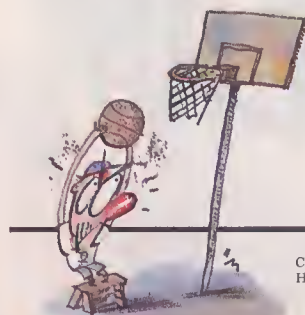


GOP rap outreach? Wright

GANGS

Hoop Raising

Here's one way to rid a community playground of gang warfare: raise the height of the basketball hoops. A playground in Brookline, Mass., was recently invaded by rival gangs from neighboring Boston—attracted to the Brookline court by their ability to slam-dunk on lowered hoops. Gang members who can slam-dunk now that the baskets are set at the regulation 10 feet will likely have scouts watching them, not cops.



'Fear of Gingrich': The House minority whip and the president

EXCLUSIVE

Bush: Blocking Newt?

NEWSWEEK has learned that President Bush recently appealed directly to House Minority Leader Bob Michel of Illinois not to retire next year. The reason: "Fear of Gingrich," says a House Republican aide. The departure of Michel, 68, would almost certainly mean that Minority Whip Newt Gingrich of Georgia would take over the No. 1 House leadership position. Gingrich was openly critical of Bush's flip-flop on taxes last fall and refused to support the administration's budget package. Bush is known to be uncomfort-

able with Gingrich's hard-right politics and firebrand style. Michel, a 34-year House veteran, has talked of quitting, but for now he's saying he has "no plans" to do so.

Bush could face the same pressures on the Senate side, where Minority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas is also said to be flirting with retirement in '92. Dole's office dismisses the rumors. But Hill sources say Dole, 67, is telling friends he's tired and bored and wants out. Dole could be succeeded by Gingrich soul mate Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas.

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM WATCH

Gulf Aftermath Edition

The CW knows there's still a lot of killing going on and all that. Lots of big issues left. But it's, well, a tad bored with the Mideast and looking forward to the NCAAs.

PLAYERS

Conventional Wisdom

U.S. Troops	↔	Ain't over 'til it's over. Home? Who said anything about going home?
Saddam Hussein	↓	Taking a Baath. Goodbye, Hitler; hello, Ceausescu.
The Emir	↓	Face it, you really <i>can't</i> go home again. Try Beverly Hills.
Iraqis	↓	Old CW: Pave 'em over. New CW: Those poor souls on the highway!
Schwarzkopf	↑	Denies political aspirations. Being God is apparently enough.
Israel	↑	Land for peace? Yeah, and the Brooklyn Bridge is for sale, too.

WASHINGTON FAX

Smug?

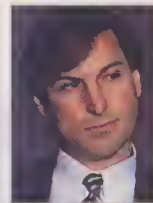
Why was Virginia Sen. Charles Robb bounced from the Budget Committee last week? Chairman **Jim Sasser** said it was done to reduce the size of the committee. But Hill sources say it's because Democrats are furious with Robb for voting with the Republicans. Democrats also resent his smugness over backing the president on using force in the gulf. Unlike Sen. Albert Gore, who also voted with Bush, Robb hasn't defended other Dems who voted with "their conscience" on force. While he's being punished for not being "politically correct," Robb may have the last laugh. "He hasn't done anything to hurt his '96 presidential candidacy," says a Senate aide.

HOT COUPLES

A Jobs Wedding

She's a student at Stanford's business school. He's one of America's most eligible bachelors. This week Steve Jobs, 36, cofounder of Apple Computer and now president of Next Inc., and Laurene Powell, 27, will be married in a small, private ceremony in Yosemite National Park. Jobs first spotted Powell when he addressed Stanford M.B.A.s in the fall of 1989.

Soon, she was tooling around in his Mercedes; he was snapping photos of her in a student play. And the two were seen nuzzling and giggling on campus like kids. The couple will split their time between his homes in California and New York, but Jobs said they planned no formal honeymoon: "Every day with her is a honeymoon."



The groom


IN THE PRESSURE

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MAGAZINES

Bart Mag

Did someone say overkill? America, still in the throes of Bartmania, is about to find itself under siege by a new magazine called *Simpsons Illustrated*, due to hit stores on March 26. The colorful humor mag, seen here for the first time, is the brainchild of Matt Groening Productions and the Welsh Publishing Group, Inc. It's aimed at a Bart-age readership, featuring comic strips, pullouts and bedtime stories. There's more, Bart fans: the premiere issue features the



Bart cover

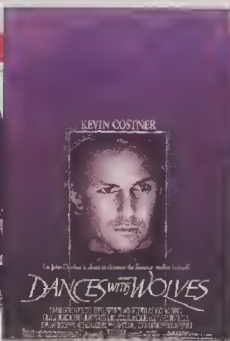
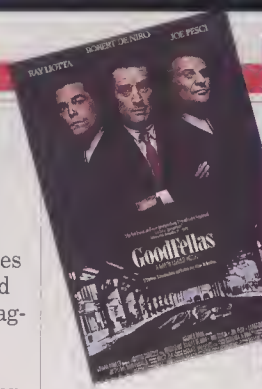
"Official Simpsons Illustrated School Survival Handbook" offering guerrilla strategies on how to get through the school day. ■

VANITY

A Portrait of Lola

It's time again to visit the continuing saga of former Minnesota governor Rudy Perpich and his quest to immortalize himself. Because Perpich is the only Minnesota governor to have served nonconsecutive terms—1977-78 and 1983-90—he has insisted there should be two official portraits of himself in the capital. No dice, said state officials. Now Perpich has countered: he wants his wife, Lola, in the new portrait. No other wives are in the other portraits. Why Lola? Because ex-governor Al Quie was allowed to be pictured with his horse. ■

Bid for immortality: The Perpiches



And the nominees are: Three movies headed for the Oscar sweepstakes

SCORECARD

Of Self-Promotion and Megabombs

Rather than trot out a laundry list of likely Oscar winners next week ("Dances With Wolves," "GoodFellas") and losers ("The Godfather, Part III"), here's an offering of special prizes for movieland '90:

The Shameless Self-Promotion Award: This one goes hands down to **Diane Ladd**, who in "Wild at Heart" covered her face in red lipstick, then vomited. Ladd, an Oscar nominee for supporting actress, sent Academy voters a long personal letter telling them to vote for you-know-who. The Donald would be proud. Special kudos also to "The Russia House," which waged a huge Oscar campaign for itself but received no nominations.

The Bombs-Away Award: Failure is easy, but spectacular failure is quite an accomplishment, which is why "Havana," "The Two Jakes" and "The Bonfire of the Vanities" deserve entree into the flop pantheon. Hats

off to you all. Note to Brian: stick to power drills.

Most Overlooked Performance Award: Did anyone see **Danny Glover's** brilliant performance in "To Sleep With Anger"? Obviously not. He's long been stellar as a celluloid tough guy, but he's superior in great character parts such as this one.

The Get-a-New-Agent Award: Congratulations, **Tom Hanks**, superstar, for somehow landing in both "The Bonfire of the Vanities" and "Joe Versus the Volcano." (You're a great comedian, so we won't even mention that your string of turkeys has now reached four.)

Biggest Travesty Award: Apparently the Academy's documentary-film committee was elsewhere when the rest of the nation was held rapt by "The Civil War," which was eligible for an Oscar. Awesome in scope, riveting in detail, this was a once-in-a-decade feat. Never mind. ■

VITAL STATISTICS

A Main-Squeeze Poll

No one will ever really know what makes one person fall for another. But here is a stab at some answers from a "main squeeze" poll in which nearly 900 Americans were questioned about their love lives.

- 32% met their main squeeze through friends or relatives; 5% met at church and only 1% met through a dating service.
- Although 46% reported that personality was what first attracted them to their sweethearts, 33% said looks counted too.
- 20% of the female respondents thought their main squeeze looked like Tom Selleck, and 21% of the males thought their sweethearts looked like Sally Field.
- For 70% it was *not* love at first sight.

SOURCE: TROPICANA, INC.

SPIES

Pushing to Free Pollard

The Israeli government last week began an intense lobbying campaign for the release of Jonathan Jay Pollard, the former U.S. agent who in 1986 pleaded guilty to stealing secrets for Jerusalem. Sentenced to life in prison, Pollard has yet to reveal the names of his Israeli handlers—in information that could be extremely embarrassing to Israel. Well-placed U.S. sources speculate that Pollard may think the Israeli government has abandoned him and be "ready to talk" unless Jerusalem gets him out. Pollard supporters hope for an arrangement with Washington that would allow Pollard to serve out his time doing community work in Israel. ■



Israel's spy

MOVIES

Prof. Spike?

So, do we call you Professor or Spike? Fifty young Harvard students may be asking that question next spring when they walk into a class taught by Spike Lee. Lee has accepted an invitation by the school's Department of Afro-American Studies to lecture about contemporary movies. He will teach the students for one two-hour lecture a week during the spring semester. The course will not be about Lee's films, though one or two may be shown. "I don't drop down on my knees at the mention of Harvard," Lee said.



Lee

LUCY HOWARD and NED ZEMAN
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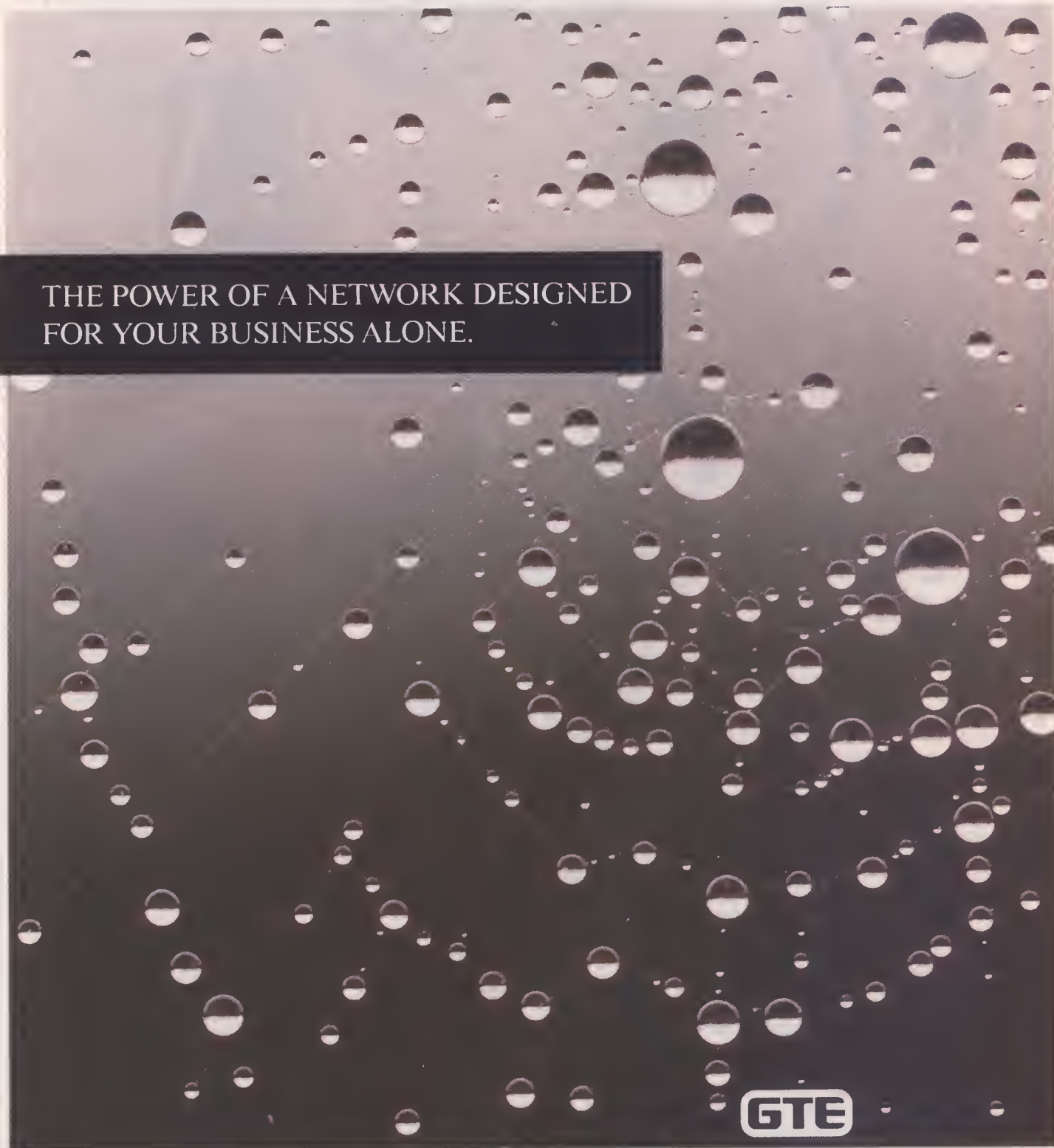
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THE POWER IS ON

Get Real Men of Steel!

BY JEANNIE MACDONALD

Recently, the editors of the "Superman" comic-book series made a startling announcement: after a whirlwind, 50-year courtship, Clark Kent has proposed to longtime love Lois Lane. Yeah, yeah, we all know marriage is serious business, but is Superman a wimp, or what? I mean, he doesn't flinch when crooks fire 147 rounds of live ammo at his chest, but he needs 50 years to work up the courage to pop the question? Get real, Man of Steel.

Let's face it, Superman's not the only guy who's afraid of being pinned to the matrimonial mat. In fact, I'd bet most women have, at one time or another, toyed with the idea of performing genetic tests on their boyfriends to see if they lack the Commitment Chromosome. The trouble is, talking about marriage only seems to make matters worse. So, rather than having rational conversations about the future, couples can find themselves locked in protracted wedlock wars, in which threats, tears and ultimatums are used by both sides to get their way.

Here's a perfect case in point. My boyfriend and I have been dating each other for almost three years now. Andy (not his real name) tells me he's never been happier. I tell Andy he's the man of my dreams. We're the personification of every goopy, soft-focus Hallmark card until I mention the dreaded M word.

With that, Andy's face pales. Beads of Nixonian sweat break out on his upper lip, and a slight tic takes hold in the skin beneath his left eye. Suddenly, benign words like "boutonniere" and "function hall" have the power to bring Andy to his knees but not, unfortunately, in the proposal position. Instead, he stammers something about not being "ready" and races from me, as a doomed man flees his executioner. What's going on here? Beats me. I blame all those MGM musicals I watched as a kid. They made love look so simple: boy meets girl, boy gets girl, boy buys girl a "rock" the size of New Jersey. To me, marriage is the natural next step in a solid, mutually satisfying relationship. To Andy, it's the Terror of Terrors; the black hole of baby puke, mortgages and station wagons; the ball and chain from Ward Cleaver Hell.

As a result, we have the "So just when *will* you be ready?" fight on a quarterly basis. Afterward, I console myself by mainlining chocolate products, playing Patsy Cline records and commiserating with my unmarried friends, who are having the same arguments with their men. "So it's not that I'm a controlling shrew or have too much cellulite?" I sniffle. "Heck, no," they assure me. "It's a 'boy thing.' They're allergic to marriage."

According to a private research study (mine), the average man rarely shares his beloved's eagerness to enter

an "altared" state. The evidence is everywhere. Pick up any "women's" magazine and you'll find at least one article on "How to Get Your Man to Stop Hyperventilating When You Mention Marriage." Flip on Phil or Oprah, and you'll hear women moaning that men are incapable of committing themselves to anything except football and power tools. Check out the self-help section of your local bookstore and you'll see row upon row of titles ranging from "Getting the Love You Want" to "Love Is Never Enough."

Despite feminism and the supposed equal rights between the sexes, we women still find ourselves in the prehistoric position of waiting for our men to do the proposing. Forget how assertive we are at the office; when it comes to getting engaged most of us curl up into the mental equivalent of the fetal position. "Me, propose to him? Isn't that illegal? Besides, who'd buy the ring?" And, really, can I find the vocabulary to do it and still keep my dignity?

Sometimes I wonder why I bother worrying about all this. Andy and I get along so effortlessly when I *don't* bring up the topic of marriage. Surely, with wonderful friends and a demanding career, I don't need a husband to be happy. What's more, applying the "if it ain't broke don't fix it" theory to our relationship, we're doing just fine, as is. Staying single also allows me to enjoy the benefits of court-

ship, while sparing myself the indignities of the stinky socks and unwashed dishes which threaten to overrun Andy's apartment.

Yet, in my heart of hearts, I still want to marry the big lug. Why? Because my life wouldn't be nearly as much fun without Andy in it. Because I think it's important to commit myself to something higher than my own self-centered needs. Because

Superman's not the only guy who quakes in fear at the thought of matrimony



there's something very moving to me about standing before my relatives and friends and pledging to share a common home, history and family with the man I love. Because at the end of my life, I want to have something more meaningful to look back on than dinners in trendy restaurants and power calls from car phones.

Bridal bouquets: This month Andy and I will celebrate our third anniversary, which means we'll probably be having one of "those" talks again. But I'm not worried. Over the years I've found ways to cope with my anxiousness and Andy's anxiety about marriage. How? I tell my mother to stop with the novenas, already. I shamelessly tackle other single women when bridal bouquets are tossed. And I try not to throttle people (invariably named Cyndi or Kimberly) when they giggle and tell me that *their* boyfriends proposed on their first dates.

Actually, Andy's reticence toward marriage has taught me a couple of valuable lessons. I've learned that marriage isn't something you do to get out of the house or to make your parents happy. And, contrary to what movies and romance novels would have us believe, marriage isn't about fleets of bridesmaids or rental tuxes or bands playing "We've Only Just Begun." It's about forming a true partnership and loving each other enough to realize that the only right time to marry is when it's right for both people—as long as one of those people doesn't take 50 years to make up his mind!

MacDonald is a freelance writer living in California.



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HONDA



A Just War?

Despite America's unequivocal relief that the war is over and Kuwait has been liberated, our jubilant patriotism seems to me a trifle forced. Is it because we're still not convinced that so much death and destruction were necessary to drive Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait? Shouldn't diplomacy mean more than issuing demands and threats? Couldn't the "family of peace-loving nations" that President Bush spoke of have tried more sincerely to avoid war before declaring diplomacy a failure? We keep telling each other what a great victory it was—for the United States and the coalition, for the president and for the troops. But perhaps we're even now trying to ignore the nagging suspicion that the war was a sad defeat for humanity.

DONN REED
Lyndon, Vt.

• • •

Compared with our recent presidents, George Bush stands tall. His objectives for the gulf war were clear, and he followed through on his threats. He deferred to the military when necessary, yet never lost his image as commander in chief. Bush will be remembered as the president who overcame the Vietnam syndrome and restored the world's confidence in America's will and words.

MARK STODDARD
Provo, Utah

• • •

The gulf war wasn't Vietnam redeemed. It was Grenada revisited: find a weak Third World country; demonize its leadership; inflate its military prowess; send in the troops; keep out the press, and watch the president's poll ratings soar.

RONALD RANDALL
Toledo, Ohio

• • •

While Americans are justifiably relieved that U.S. casualties in the gulf war were relatively low, we seem extraordinarily complacent about the estimated 80,000 to 100,000 dead and wounded on the Iraqi side. Such a toll of casualties is an awesome tragedy. Our leaders justified this war, in part, by depicting Saddam Hussein as a man with no regard for human life. If we are to presume moral superiority in this situation, our ability to grieve must not be limited by ideology or national borders.

DAVID WEISSMAN
San Francisco, Calif.

• • •

Grenada, Panama, Iraq. With every victory, the United States seems all the more ready to use military force. Wouldn't it be nice for us to solve our own problems before

MAIL CALL

Too Brutal?

There were complaints from some readers about the March 4 cover photo of an American MP securing an Iraqi prisoner of war. Some feared it showed gratuitous violence; others said it sent a callous, unrepresentative message about how America deals with Arabs. Here is some background about the photo, which was taken a few days before the ground war began: the 101st Airborne had just landed in southern Iraq and hundreds of Iraqis were surrendering, their hands in the air. The MP was simply securing his prisoner by checking for weapons and binding his wrists. This is standard procedure for the capture of enemy prisoners. In short, this was not an instance of brutality.



tackling world problems? If only President Bush's war on drugs could be even 10 percent as effective as his campaign against Iraq. And as of the last day of the war, four of the Keating Five are off the hook—and no one seems to notice.

LINDA R. HORTON
New Orleans, La.

• • •

I admire Col. David H. Hackworth, both personally and professionally. However, I take exception to his comment about REMFs ("Rear Echelon Mother F---s") in "A Pummeling From the Paper Tiger" (DESSERT STORM, March 4). The term implies that rear-echelon soldiers dodge responsibility and leave others at risk. I have friends working in a rear-echelon capacity—medics in hospitals in Riyadh, trained to provide wounded soldiers with quality care. Clearly, this derisive term does not apply to them. Scud attacks like the one that killed 28 soldiers in a military barracks near Dhahran, moreover, demonstrate that in modern warfare no troops are safe from hostile action.

Maj. PHILIP C. BRESSLER, USAF (Ret.)
State College, Pa.

Second to Nunn

NEWSWEEK incorrectly reported that Gov. Mario Cuomo "took no stand on the issue of attacking Saddam Hussein" (PERI-

SCOPE, Jan. 28). Before Congress voted to authorize the war, Cuomo issued a statement that read, "I have been asked for my opinion on the debate currently before Congress, which I have been following. If limited to the choices presently before the Congress, I would prefer the position advocated by Sen. Sam Nunn, but if the administration resolution is adopted then Saddam Hussein should know that all Americans will support the resolution and the president."

TOM CONROY
Deputy Press Secretary to the Governor
Albany, N.Y.

'Fussy Sanctimony?'

From Elvis's pelvis to 2 Live Crew's nasty lyrics, rock and roll has long been criticized for sending the wrong messages to young people. What a shame that your article "Johnny B. Goody-Goody" (MUSIC, Feb. 25) saw fit to bash today's rock stars for their "fussy sanctimony." What's wrong with entertainers educating people about the environment, the homeless and other social issues?

J. ALEXANDER MAWS
Boston, Mass.

• • •

Pop music has not aged gracefully. Its stars—once fun-loving, individualistic rebels—seem now to be, as your piece implies, a dreary bunch of self-righteous, hypocritical scolds. Like some television evangelists, they rail against evil and preach morals they don't practice. Sting, Bono and Sinéad O'Connor may really care about social problems, but to me it looks as though they're just singing songs and pocketing royalties.

JOHN TAYLOR JR.
North Providence, R.I.

• • •

You suggest that today's pop musicians are full of false sincerity while yesterday's rockers—Bob Dylan, for example—were "trying to save their audience or themselves." Sure they were. Let's give Dylan a big ole high-five for recommendations like "everybody must get stoned." John Lennon, meanwhile, wrote "imagine no possessions" while living in his lavish English mansion. So what, then, if Belinda Carlisle protests animal cruelty yet plugs leather sneakers?

MARY DOUTHITT
Sunnyvale, Calif.

Letters to the Editor, with the writer's name and address and daytime phone number, should be sent to: Letters Editor, Newsweek, 444 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022 or faxed to: (212) 350-4120. Letters may be edited for reasons of space and clarity.

Overheard

The most I would allow is what relates to this plaintiff, not every homo that may be walking the face of the Earth at this time."

U.S. district court Judge OLIVER GASCH, a former American Bar Association president, on a gay plaintiff who is challenging dismissal from the U.S. Naval Academy

This gal Warmus isn't looking too good. Whatever else happens, she'll have trouble getting dates around here when this is over."

A senior citizen watching New York's "Fatal Attraction" trial, in which Caroline Warmus is charged with murdering her ex-boyfriend's wife



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How do I know you're the president?"

ANTHONY HENDERSON, 8, to George Bush during the president's visit to Henderson's Washington classroom. Bush produced his AmEx card as identification

They're not bursting into people's homes and saying, 'Get out of the shower, ma'am. You've been in there eight minutes'."

Palo Alto, Calif., city official DEBRA KATZ, on the city's Gush Busters—"water cops" who patrol the streets and fine people for water waste during the drought

What about you and me and your daughter?" ...
"We're both too old for you."

An exchange between WARREN BEATTY and producer JULIA PHILLIPS, according to her new tell-all book

You can lead the House to order, but you can't make it think."

Massachusetts Gov. WILLIAM WELD, on his sour relations with the state legislature over the budget

He's large and he's slabby and he's cold."

Presidential biographer EDMUND MORRIS, on spending time with Ronald Reagan



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The Noose Ti



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**Saddam struggles to put down
the rebels—and Washington
hints at fresh hostilities**

THE GULF REVOLT IN IRAQ

In northern Iraq, Kurdish rebels last week raised their red and green flag over the main border crossing into Turkey; they control most of the region despite savage pounding by Iraqi helicopter gunships. Troops patrolled the streets of Baghdad and manned roadblocks at entrances to the city. In the south, refugees said Iraqi Republican Guards strafed crowds, burned the wounded alive and hanged captives from tank barrels. "The air raids lasted for three days," said Egyptian accountant Adel Muhammad, who witnessed fighting in the Shiite holy city of Karbala. "It was nothing but killing, killing, killing." But equally brutal Shiite insurgents kept rallying. In the Pentagon, intelligence experts added red dots to a map marking towns where Saddam Hussein faces armed insurrection; by Friday there were 30, a gain of 14 in a week. Even the Iraqi Defense Ministry newspaper Al-Qadissiya conceded that the country faces "the gravest conspiracy in its contemporary history."

Iraq also faced renewal of the gravest military struggle in its history. Last week George Bush said that Saddam's use of gunships in a combat role violated the terms of the three-week-old temporary cease-fire. It would be impossible for the United States to withdraw from Iraqi soil under such circumstances, he said, and warned the dictator: "Don't do it." Then Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, the commander of Operation Desert Storm, followed up. In a



LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK



ABC-TV VIA AP

**GIs in Kuwait drag a dead Iraqi soldier to a desert grave,
Saddam claims his troops are crushing a revolt by 'stooges'**

letter to the ruling Revolutionary Command Council in Baghdad, he implicitly threatened to shoot down any Iraqi fixed-wing aircraft found in flight and increased allied air patrols over areas affected by the rebellion. "It may be their country," said a senior Bush aide, "but we control the airspace." It was clear that Washington had placed limits on what Saddam could do to stay in power: a resort to chemical weapons against insurgents would surely provoke a U.S. military response, for example. Bush still hoped for a coup that would keep Iraq from spinning into anarchy. And he meant the American presence to provide some psychological impetus in that direction.

Saddam's downfall seemed closer than ever. In his first televised speech since Feb. 26, he claimed on Saturday to have crushed the uprising in Shiite areas in the south (map) "with God's aid." (Saddam and most leaders of the ruling Baath Party are Sunni Muslims.) He warned Kurds he will soon put down their revolt, too. It won't be easy. Support for the uprising "is coming out of the woodwork all over the Middle East," said one U.S. intelligence official. "There's never been such a moment of liberation in living memory," exulted Kendal Nezan, head of the Kurdish Institute in Paris. "It's as if the Jewish ghettos in Nazi Germany had rebelled and the movement had taken over the countryside."

In control: The Front of Iraqi Kurdistan, a coalition of Kurdish parties, claimed by the weekend to hold 95 percent of northern Iraq, a mountainous region the size of Hungary that is home to more than 3 million Kurds, almost a fifth of the country's population. Rebels controlled the entire Iranian and Turkish frontiers and were besieging Kirkuk, a major oil center. Rebel leaders said the Iraqis had brought 5,000 Kurdish women and children to Kirkuk as hostages. They vowed to press the attack. Intelligence officials confirmed that Saddam had lost control of much of the region.

Although it started with riots, the Kurdish uprising relies on a battle-tested organization. Since the British denied them their own state in the aftermath of World War I, the Kurds have risen against Baghdad an average of once a decade. Saddam kept them down only by exiling tens of thousands and interning others in squalid camps; in 1988 he used poison gas against them. By January, thousands of fighters returned from bases in Kurdish Iran, Syria and Turkey, prepared to maintain order and to strike should Saddam falter. But the most powerful guerrilla commander, Masoud Barzani, said he would not open a second front against Saddam for fear that the Iraqis would punish civilians, using chemical weapons. If he doubted Bush's promise to confront Saddam, that was understandable. During the early 1970s, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger promised

the Kurds covert U.S. and Iranian support if they fought Iraq. The support was withdrawn when the shah won a border settlement from Iraq in 1975, and tens of thousands of Kurds were forced to flee.

A policy reversal in Turkey boosted the uprising. "The news is good, unprecedented," said Nezan. "Turkey has officially recognized the Kurdish community for the first time." Turkey has fought Kurdish insurgents on its own territory for eight years. But on Feb. 25, President Turgut Ozal sent an emissary to London to meet with representatives of the Iraqi Kurds, *Newsweek* learned. Ozal's representatives told the Kurds, "We are Sunnis, non-Arab and democratic, so we are a better bet for you than the Iranians," according to one source familiar with the talks. Representatives of the two top Kurdish guerrilla groups flew to Ankara on March 8 for talks with senior Turkish Foreign Ministry and intelligence officials. Ozal created an uproar in Turkey by revealing the Ankara meeting last week. "Everybody, the Americans, the British, the French, all are talking to them," he said. "Why shouldn't we?"

Residents of Kurdish internment camps already had begun to overrun local police posts after hearing radio reports of the up-





PHOTOS BY MOHSEN SHANDIZ—SYGMA

Across the Great Divides

The religious, ethnic and geographical differences among Iraqi insurgents have so far prevented the formation of a cohesive opposition movement.



Suspected Iraqi soldiers held by rebels near Basra, an insurgent prepares to fire on loyalist Republican Guards



rising in the south. "The urban population then joined them and attacked military posts around the cities," said Nezan. Kurdish guerrillas entered the battle, and thousands of local Iraqi militiamen overthrew their officers and crossed to the rebels, bringing large numbers of weapons, Nezan said. He said Iranian Kurds are bringing food and supplies into the region, which contains about a third of the nation's soil reserves. U.S. intelligence satellites last week spotted Army and Republican Guard units moving north to quell the rebellion. Squads of French-built helicopters were attacking with rockets, napalm and incendiary bombs, the rebels said. But, says Nezan, "with 150,000 men in arms, the tanks and weapons seized from the Army and the support of the population, unless [the Iraqis] use chemical weapons against which the Kurds have no protection at all, they can hold out. For months, or perhaps more than a year."

The Shiite revolt in the south is far less well organized, in spite of support from Iran, including the infiltration of Revolutionary Guard units. Cities along the lower Euphrates River have been ravaged by savage and chaotic battles since March 3. All now are without food, water and electricity; disease is rampant. Shiite fundamentalists first freed prisoners, then slaughtered government officials and suspected collaborators. In al-Nasiriya, they hanged the mayor in the town square after gouging out his eyes and cutting off his nose, said a refugee who reached the U.S. checkpoint in Safwan last week. Some retreating Iraqi Army units attacked government buildings, then joined the revolt. "There was no [rebel] organization at all," said an American soldier based near al-Nasiriya.

White phosphorus: Loyalist Iraqi units retaliated with tanks, artillery and helicopter attacks, indiscriminately blasting civilian areas. "The tanks fired on the houses randomly," said Muhssen Khamas, a 53-year-old shopkeeper who fled to Iran last week. Kazwan Fiyasser Kasaf, a teenager who fled from al-Amara to a refugee camp in the Iranian border town of Bostan, said Saddam's forces "burned young people with gasoline and threw women from the top of the bridge." U.S. intelligence officials last week said they had reports of rebel areas hit with artillery rounds and short-range FROG-7 missiles loaded with white phosphorus. Normally used to mark military positions, it causes severe burns.

Iraqi helicopters also dropped tear gas.

The Shiite rebels were not winning, but they have brought chaos to the region. Opposition officials in Teheran said Saddam's forces often control Basra, the regional capital, during the day, only to lose it at night. The boom of shellfire in Basra still could be heard late last week in the Iranian city of Khorramshahr. Stretched to the limit, Iraqi commanders are forced to leapfrog their forces from one trouble spot to another without being able to hold onto their gains. "You work on it over here, and then you go over here to work on another problem and it comes back up in the place that you left," said Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams. A rebel group claimed last week to have taken Hilla, a regional capital 60 miles south of Baghdad. "Everything may be finished in one week, if not less," said a spokesman for the Teheran-based Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Revolution. A more sober assessment came from a senior Middle Eastern diplomat in Riyadh: "The resistance says the people are rebelling. Saddam says the uprisings are being quashed. I'm afraid they both may be right."

'A reminder': By deploying helicopters against the rebels, Saddam left himself open to Bush's new threat. That was only the latest in a long string of tactical blunders. But administration officials recoiled at the thought that American forces might follow up with military operations should Saddam call his bluff. For one thing, any rebel group installed with U.S. military backing would instantly be suspect. "This is just a reminder to Saddam that we're in a position to do anything we want to do, and he should proceed very cautiously," said a senior Bush administration official.

Bush's move positioned the United States to gain influence with whoever inherits power from Saddam. Even if he falls in a military or Baath Party coup, as Washington hopes, the Kurds and Shiites are likely to grow in stature. Saddam himself conceded as much Saturday by promising a new constitution and parliament. Kurdish leaders already are planning a parliamentary system that would grant them control of their homeland and a share in government equal to their population. So are the rest of the 20-odd dissident organizations that met last week in Beirut under Syrian protection; they planned to reconvene in Saudi Arabia next month. "These things are possible now," said Nezan. And if Saddam survives? The human cost will be huge. At least the United States will not be accused of standing by idly.

TOM MASLAND with MELINDA LIU in Safwan, JEFFREY BARTHOLET in Khorramshahr, RUTH MARSHALL in Paris, DOUGLAS WALLER and THOMAS M. DEFRANK in Washington, ANN MCDANIEL with the president, CHRISTOPHER DICKEY in Amman and SPENCER REISS in Riyadh



MICHEL LIPCHITZ—AP

Schwarzkopf collects a souvenir of sand from the beach in liberated Kuwait City

Another Lebanon?

Americans may get dragged into Iraq's civil war

Iraq is not Lebanon. But could the Bush administration stumble into the same kind of bloody quagmire that humbled Ronald Reagan eight years ago? President Bush says it won't happen. "We're not in there trying to impose a solution inside Iraq," he insisted last week. The fact remains, however, that more than 100,000 U.S. and allied troops occupy more than 15 percent of Iraq's territory, while the rest of the country is embroiled in a civil war. The Americans are involved already, if only as heavily armed spectators perched in the front row. Washington has warned Saddam Hussein not to go too far in trying to put down his opposition. If Saddam does something drastic—such as using poison gas, a weapon he has wielded against rebels before—Americans could find themselves fighting Iraqis all over again.

The administration wants no part of another war with Saddam, even with Iraq in a weakened condition. Instead, Washington decided to ratchet up the rhetoric last week. Bush complained about helicopter attacks

THE GULF REVOLT IN IRAQ

on the rebels by Saddam's forces and said he was "warning them: do not do this." Gen. H. Norman Schwarzkopf, the allied commander in the region, warned Baghdad not to send fixed-wing warplanes aloft for any reason. U.S. officials said they were not likely to resume hostilities over

helicopter flights. But if other Iraqi combat aircraft take to the skies, U.S. planes may shoot them down.

"Frankly, we don't want to have any more fighting," Bush said. But White House staffers concede that if Saddam's forces do something really hideous, such as turning chemical weapons on their enemies, Washington may have no option but to lash back, at least with air power. Renewed warfare on those terms might not be unpopular. In the latest NEWSWEEK Poll, a large majority of the Americans surveyed favored resuming the war if Saddam resorts to weapons of mass destruction. A smaller majority backed military action to force Saddam out of power (chart).

He's not necessarily going to fall any

times soon. Ironically, the United States has a short-term stake in the survival of Saddam's iron-fisted regime, if not of the dictator himself. Only strong central authority can save Iraq from Lebanonization. If Saddam's government is defeated by the Kurds and other separatists, the country could fall apart, threatening the stability of the entire gulf region. A different but equally ironic possibility is that post-Saddam Iraq might succumb to majority rule, in the form of a takeover by the pro-Iranian Shiite Muslims, who account for more than half of the population.

Many of Washington's Arab allies are more afraid of a fundamentalist regime in Iraq than they are of a weakened Saddam. And even Israeli leaders have stopped calling for Saddam's downfall. The chances are that Saddam's government will survive at least the next few weeks. Richard Murphy, the top Mideast hand in the Reagan administration, says the regime "still has more organized power than the Kurds or the Shiites. It still has the edge to keep the state from fragmenting." If Murphy is wrong, Iraq could quickly become the next Lebanon. If he's right, Saddam's survival is a decidedly mixed blessing.

'Zilch, zero': The American desire for stability in Iraq conflicts with Washington's unrelenting quest to get rid of the dictator, eventually. "I find it very difficult to see a situation in which we would have normalized relations with Saddam Hussein still in power," Bush said last Saturday in Bermuda, where he met with British Prime Minister John Major. "His credibility is zilch, zero, zed," the president said of Saddam, using the British term for the letter "z." But Washington thinks Iraq can be held together only by another strongman, probably from the Iraqi military or the ruling Baath Party.

In yet another policy contradiction, the administration thinks it cannot sit idly by if Saddam or his henchmen try to preserve the regime by massacring their opponents. It wants to let Iraq's rulers know what they can and cannot get away with. Last summer the administration failed to warn Saddam in no uncertain terms not to invade Kuwait. "They're not going to make the April Glaspie mistake twice," says a State Department official, referring to the U.S. ambassador who met with Saddam eight days before the invasion and reportedly

told him that Washington had "no opinion" on his dispute with Kuwait.

Formally, the gulf war is not over. It was merely suspended under a temporary cease-fire arranged by Schwarzkopf on March 3. The agreement allows Iraq to fly helicopters, though U.S. officials expected them to be used only for peaceful purposes. The use of fixed-wing warplanes is forbidden, according to the Americans. Sources told NEWSWEEK the Iraqis were not even allowed to move them from north to south.



MOHSEN SHANDIZ—SYGMA

Iraqi rebels ride on a tank captured from the Republican Guards

OPINION WATCH

Ready to Resume?

Would you support or oppose having U.S. forces resume military action against Iraq if Saddam Hussein's forces use chemical or biological weapons against rebel groups?

77% Support 18% Oppose

Would you support or oppose resumed military action to force Saddam Hussein from power?

57% Support 38% Oppose

For this NEWSWEEK Poll, The Gallup Organization interviewed a national sample of 763 adults by telephone March 14-15. The margin of error is plus or minus 4 percentage points. "Don't know" and other responses not shown. The NEWSWEEK Poll © 1991 by NEWSWEEK, Inc.

Last Saturday a spokesman for the U.S. Central Command in Riyadh said the Iraqis had "indicated that they intend to fly more airplanes and to move them around inside Iraq," which he said would be "a clear violation" of the agreement. The spokesman said "a representative of the U.S. military" would meet with the Iraqis soon to discuss the problem.

A movement by U.S. ground forces back into the northern part of the occupied zone was intended as another message to the Iraqis, White House officials said. The troops, elements of the 101st Airborne and

First Cavalry divisions, had been pulled back 30 miles to the rear, leaving the area to be patrolled by helicopters. "I want you on the ground up there," Schwarzkopf was quoted as telling the commanders. Because Iraq has no aerial reconnaissance, Saddam may not have been aware of the move until it was reported by the Western news media.

"We could go to offensive operations in a heartbeat," Brig. Gen. Richard Neal, a U.S. military spokesman, said in Riyadh. "People are looking at contingencies, particularly in the air, but they're not forming up columns to Baghdad," said another U.S. official in the Saudi capital. In fact, a renewed ground war seemed almost unthinkable, given the potential for getting bogged down in an unwinnable situation. Even an air campaign was problematic. "How are you going to make sure you target the right guys?" asked a Pentagon officer. "We can punish Saddam with air power," he added. "But will it be enough to make him change his behavior toward his own people?" U.S. officials also wanted to avoid alienating the Iraqi military, which could be the source of a regime to succeed Saddam.

No mandate: The United States lacks a clear mandate for military intervention in Iraq's civil war. French President François Mitterrand, who met with Bush in Martinique last week, and Soviet leaders, who talked to Secretary of State James Baker in Moscow, argued that U.N. resolutions empowered the allies to expel Saddam from Kuwait, but not to pacify all of Iraq. "At the outset, we said we weren't heading for Baghdad," Mitterrand told reporters, and Bush quickly chimed in his agreement.

Bush said some U.S. troops will remain on Iraqi soil until a formal cease-fire is arranged.

That could take months, given the chaos in Iraq. And even if U.S. forces stay within the bounds of the territory they control now, they will be forced to function as something like an army of occupation. If refugees flood in from elsewhere in Iraq, the Americans will have to care for them and provide somehow for law and order. And the longer U.S. forces remain in Iraq, the likelier it is that some Iraqis will expect them to help find a solution to the country's Levantine problems.

RUSSELL WATSON with DOUGLAS WALLER in Washington, MARGARET GARRARD WARNER with Baker, ANN McDANIEL with Bush, SPENCER REISS in Riyadh and bureau reports



MOHSEN SHANDIZ—SYGMA

Iraqi Shiites show spoils of their war against Saddam Hussein's Republican Guards

Iran's New Gulf Game

The cross-border chaos is a challenge for Teheran

Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini could hardly have wished for more: Saddam Hussein's Army crushed and Shiite rebels fighting his loyalist forces for control of the country. Here was a chance for the Islamic revolution to break the bounds of Persia at last and burst into the Arab world. What the late imam could not have imagined was that this moment of opportunity would spring from a war with an alliance led by the Great Satan, the United States. The intensity of the religious revolt took Washington somewhat by surprise, too. "The coalition focused on regaining Kuwait and ensuring that Saddam would not threaten the region again," says a Western diplomat in Teheran. "Anything was better than Saddam, so nobody thought too much about what son of Saddam might look like."

The mere possibility that Iran might try to force the issue was enough for President Bush to warn Teheran last week against a military move into Iraq. Iran is already involved in the uprising, albeit to a limited extent. **NEWSWEEK** has learned that at least some Iranian Revolutionary Guards have been infiltrated into southern Iraq along with truckloads of small arms. Teheran has also allowed Iraqi rebel units based in Iran to return home to join the uprising,

but denies it is supplying them with fresh weapons and ammunition. At Khorramshahr, an Iranian border city reduced to rubble during the Iran-Iraq War, trucks carry food and medicine into opposition-held Iraqi territory. Ambulances race toward Iranian hospitals carrying wounded Iraqi mujahedin, and armed Iraqis stand guard at the city library—now a headquarters for the Supreme Assembly of the Islamic Revolution, an umbrella group of anti-Saddam Shiites.

But fears of a militant Islamic government in Baghdad may be misguided—or at least premature. The Teheran-based leader of the Supreme Assembly, Ayatollah Muhammad Bakr al-Hakim, who says he seeks not a fundamentalist regime but only free elections to decide Iraq's political future, is one of dozens of potential Iraqi leaders. "Mr. Hakim heads just one group fighting Saddam Hussein," says Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister Abbas Maleki. "There are others more numerous and stronger." President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani has urged Saddam to "submit to the will of the people," but he has also urged all political groups in Iraq to work together. "Iran wants a friendly government in Iraq, Is-

lamic or not," says Hooshmand Mirfakhraei, a strategic analyst at the Center for Political and International Studies in Teheran. The hope is for a government that is sympathetic to Iran, but also able to hold the country together.

Iran has as much to lose as to gain from the chaos across the border. A power vacuum in Baghdad could draw neighboring countries and their vast arms supplies into the turmoil. Rebellious Iraqi Kurds could start a war for an independent state, touching off similar demands among the Kurdish populations of Iran, Syria and Turkey. "If Lebanonization starts and the Kurds get the upper hand," says Hossein Nosrat, a senior editor at the Islamic Republic News Agency, "it means trouble for Iran, too."

This is a particularly bad time for Iran to contemplate an unstable western border. A doz-

en years of revolutionary fervor and an eight-year war have left Iran's economy a shambles. By 1989 Iranian industry was producing at one third its capacity and per capita income had declined by about 50 percent from the previous decade. Rafsanjani, leader of the so-called pragmatist camp in Teheran, needs foreign investment and know-how to rebuild the country. For that, he needs to break Iran's international isolation.

Rafsanjani has already made diplomatic inroads in Europe and the Middle East. An Iranian embassy will soon open in Amman, and Cairo and Teheran have agreed to re-establish interest sections. Britain reopened diplomatic relations with Iran in September, and last week another hurdle may have been surmounted when Mehrdad Kokabi, an Iranian student imprisoned in connection with a series of bomb attacks in Britain, was released and deported. The Teheran Times newspa-

per, which often reflects the views of Iran's Foreign Ministry, reported that Iran would likely "respond positively and make a return gesture," perhaps the release of British businessman Roger Cooper, held in Iran on espionage charges since 1985. Even rapprochement with the Great Satan seems possible. The Bush administration sent word to Teheran earlier this year that it is willing to discuss normalization of relations. As a result of Iran's "good behavior" during the gulf war, said an administration official, "we just think it's time to talk." Teheran has not yet responded.

Iran's credibility got its greatest boost

**THE GULF
REVOLT
IN IRAQ**

from Rafsanjani's stance on the gulf war. Rafsanjani rebuffed radicals in Teheran clamoring to join Iraq in a jihad against Western forces in the gulf, and maintained Iran's neutrality throughout. Even now, Teheran seems unready to return the jet fighters Iraqi pilots flew to safe harbor in Iran; one official said they would discuss the issue only after "the Iraqi people" decided the future of their government. As expected, the position won praise from both the West and the Arab gulf countries. But Rafsanjani wants more than benediction:

he seeks a central role in postwar security and economic arrangements for the region. Beyond extending Iran's political clout, cooperation with the Arab gulf states would open lucrative markets to Iranian businessmen, increase Arab investment in Iran, and could give Iran more weight in OPEC, the oil cartel.

Arab gulf states are still mindful of previous Iranian attempts to undermine their regimes. Their strategy is to placate Iran, while still keeping it at a safe distance. In a crunch, they look to Egypt and Syria for

protection. For his part, Rafsanjani has been trying to reassure the gulf sheiks, declaring recently that "it's not good policy to frighten our neighbors." Governments, he said, "can discuss their differences, and logic and reason can prevail." Moderates in Iran reason that if Rafsanjani is not awarded a role in the postwar gulf, Washington and its Arab friends will provoke the Iran they fear most: a cornered country that will try to force its revolution on others.

JEFFREY BARTHOLET in Teheran with bureau reports

Kuwait: 'All We Have Is This Smoke'

It should have been a moment to savor. Last week a tearful Emir of Kuwait stepped off a plane and knelt on the airport tarmac to kiss the land he hadn't seen in seven months of exile. On the way to his temporary palace, a few well-wishers greeted him with bursts of machine-gun fire. But celebration was the last thing on the minds of many Kuwaitis. "There's no water, there's no electricity. All we have is this smoke," said Lucy Taslakian, gesturing at the dense black clouds from hundreds of raging oil-well fires that blanketed the petroleum town of Ahmadi.

Long lines form each day in front of supermarkets, bread-distribution points and the special AT&T telephone exchange where residents can make overseas calls—but few local ones. In one supermarket in Hawali, a Palestinian neighborhood, all that remained on the shelves at noon one day last week were bottles of baby oil and tubes of depilatory. "People's patience is going to run out very soon," predicted an engineer who watched one bread line turn into a near riot when residents were told there would be no deliveries that day.

So far, at least, serious trouble has not erupted. About two dozen women peacefully demonstrated at a local school, calling for the restoration of power, food and water. When soldiers stopped by and told them to go away, they did. And while the government



ALLAN TANNENBAUM—SYGMA

The emir covers his face on returning to a ravaged country

seemed unwilling to disarm various gun-toting groups, including resistance fighters, incidents of street violence were hard to find.

Kuwaitis continued to vent their frustration at Palestinians and other foreigners. Four residents—two Iraqis, two African workers—in the town of Safwan told of being tied up and beaten by Kuwaiti men in uniform. One man, displaying huge bruises on his back and thighs, said he was left bound, blindfolded and without food or water for four days. "After Iraq's persecution, we should be the last ones to give in to a vengeful spirit,"

said Minister of Planning Su-leiman al-Mutawa. "If [such incidents] are confirmed, we ought to be ashamed."

Fear of Kuwaiti reprisal has prompted an estimated 200,000 Palestinians to flee. The jobs they held—professionals, merchants, bureaucrats—now go undone. This has hampered the restoration of even basic services. Meanwhile, a U.S. electrical contractor's 75-vehicle convoy of power-generation equipment was held up for three days on the Saudi Arabian side of the border by Saudi red tape while Kuwait's government floundered. The Kuwaiti royal fam-

ily "didn't pull together the ministry structures while in exile," said a diplomat in Kuwait. "Down in Taif, five people with a bulletin board on the third floor of the Sheraton made up a ministry."

Vague promises: Since returning from exile, the royal family has not made impressive strides in reasserting control, other than to issue vague promises to return to Kuwait's 1962 Constitution—and to impose martial law. The government hasn't even used the media to lay out its plans, much less to buck up its citizens or to instruct them on how to help out with reconstruction. "There are a lot of people complaining and itching to get their shirtsleeves dirty," said a Western diplomat in Kuwait City. "But they say the government won't tell them what to do."

Disorder turned Kuwaitis, who are not accustomed to hardship, into scavengers. The abandoned cars that line Kuwait's streets became the targets of even well-dressed people, who discreetly carried off prized spare parts—hub-caps, batteries, a set of decent tires. A car that ran was a special treasure. You could fill it with free gasoline and visit a friend who was otherwise out of reach because the phones didn't work. Or you could drive past mounds of uncollected garbage and the decomposing bodies of dead Iraqi soldiers outside the city—and try to recall the opulence that was Kuwait only eight months ago.

TOM POST with MELINDA LIU in Kuwait City

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Baby Steps for Peace

Instead of a bold new Mideast plan, Baker stresses more modest 'confidence-building measures'

There will be no Hail Mary passes in this round of the Arab-Israeli peace search. As he completed his trip to the Middle East last week, Secretary of State James Baker argued for incremental progress, not a big, bold plan. "You have to crawl before you walk, and you have to walk before you run," he said in Damascus. Baker didn't lean on anyone during this visit. The pressure will begin gently this week with Baker's follow-up phone calls to the leaders he saw, then intensify when President Bush makes his own trip to the region, expected later this spring. Bush aides say the president believes both Arabs and Israelis are in debt to the gulf coalition for quashing Saddam Hussein. But will either side pay up? The odds against genuine Arab-Israeli peace remain long. Fresh from its win in the gulf, the Bush administration is committing itself to a new triumph: of hope over experience.

For Baker, the first crawl toward peace meant ending the region's longstanding game of "you first." He urged both sides to abandon rhetorical preconditions in favor of a gradual narrowing of the gap between them. Both sides accepted the idea, but in principle more than substance. The only concrete concession to emerge from last week's diplomacy concerned the longstanding Arab call for an international Mideast peace conference. Israel has always opposed being dragged into such a forum, and after meeting with Baker, Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak said a conference should not be convened "without proper preparation." From such nuance comes progress.

Washington's new catch phrase is "confidence-building measures." Tripartite prisoner exchanges between Lebanon, Israel and Syria would be a start. Prior notification of military maneuvers on either side is another possibility. Further on, the Arab states might agree to a regional water conference in return for Israel lifting political restrictions on Palestinians in the occupied territories. Agreements of this kind are achievable. Many Israelis are already willing to concede that deportations, detentions and other means of handling the Palestinian issue on the West Bank should be reformed. It's the deals beyond confidence-building—for instance, ending the state of war with Israel in exchange for stopping

THE GULF LOOKING AHEAD

settlements in the territories—that seem far less realistic.

Beyond that lie two major stumbling blocks. The first is the PLO (page 26). When Baker met with 10 Palestinian leaders in Jerusalem last week, they opened with the ritual insistence that the PLO is "the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people." The secretary of state responded that Arab leaders he had already met were so disgusted with PLO leader Yasir Arafat's support for Saddam that they could not even sit at the same table with him. "It was as if they'd been hit by a two-by-four," one Baker aide said. Baker then added that Washington felt the same way. He did say, however,

that the Bush administration opposes Israeli settlements on the West Bank. He also hinted that Bush himself is prepared to call in some of his chips with Israel.

The second stumbling block is Israel. Support for "land for peace"—the essential bargain in any settlement—is highly unlikely in the current political configuration. During Baker's visit, the government of Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir showed no inclination to rethink its policy of encouraging Jewish settlements in the occupied territories. This issue in particular seems impervious to any real solution.

Some hope: But there is some hope that a more positive dynamic can be created. The key to it lies not in threats, but in a cagey psychological game that Baker seems well suited to play. For instance, Baker did not overtly pressure Shamir on this visit. He assured the Israeli prime minister that U.S. aid to Israel was not contingent on progress in the peace process. But by telling reporters beforehand that the Arabs were willing to be flexible *if* they heard a similar willingness from the Israelis, Baker put the monkey on Shamir's back. The Israeli government was determined not to be painted

Baker lays flowers on the grave of a Russian immigrant slain by an Arab in Jerusalem



as the spoiler. "Baker's trying to create a contest to see who will be pessimistic first," said one Israeli official. "This time it won't be us." That determination created an odd rhetorical breakthrough. By the time Baker departed, Shamir himself sounded downright upbeat about his Arab neighbors: "We are no longer hearing expressions of hatred. The statements are more logical. They do not speak of

the destruction or elimination of Israel."

Not right now, anyway. But whether Baker chose to see it or not, there was evidence all around him that the gulf war had not fundamentally changed political attitudes. On the day before his arrival in Jerusalem, an Arab assailant who told police he was sending a message to Baker stabbed four Israeli women to death. On the day he arrived in Damascus, the Syrian

Times carried a major story entitled SINISTER ZIONIST AMBITIONS IN THE ARAB GULF REGION. If somehow George Bush does manage to pull off a genuine peace settlement, it would make his huge war victory look puny by comparison. But no one should hold his breath.

JONATHAN ALTER with MARGARET GARRARD
WARNER with Baker and THEODORE STANGER
in Jerusalem

Can Arafat Survive His Latest Blunder?

One evening in 1985 the late PLO military commander Khalil al-Wazir was asked what the Palestine Liberation Organization had ever really done for its people. Normally mild-mannered, he responded with a tirade. "You don't know what it was like to live with the Egyptian boot on the back of your neck," he said. He talked about prisons in Syria, slaughter in Jordan, arid exile in the gulf. Not once did he mention Israel. What the PLO had done, said al-Wazir, was take the Palestinian movement away from Arab leaders who had exploited it for their own ends. The PLO had established its independence, nothing less.

But in the years since, it has done little more. PLO Chairman Yasir Arafat has tried concessions: in 1988 he accepted U.N. Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, recognizing Israel's right to live within secure borders. In language tailored by American officials, he renounced terrorism. But all he got was a low-level dialogue with Washington. It collapsed when he refused to denounce an abortive raid on an Israeli beach by one of the more radical PLO factions. A leading moderate in the organization says, "All his decisions proved to be wrong."

As Eastern Europe was shedding its dictators, Arafat embraced them. He was a conspicuous guest at the last Party Congress of Romania's Nicolae Ceausescu. He sent a message congratulating China's leadership after Tiananmen Square. Worst of all, he offered rhetorical support



ADAR—MEDIA-SIPA

Israeli soldiers and body of Arab guerrilla on the West Bank

for Saddam Hussein right through the Iraqi tyrant's miserable defeat, then refused to acknowledge the results. When one of Arafat's top aides told friends last week that Saddam actually won because he didn't lose all his Army, a stunned Palestinian intellectual concluded, "If he's pretending, it's a calamity. If he's not, it's even more of a calamity."

Surviving by default: In fact, says a Palestinian realist, "I don't think we'll face a bigger crisis than this." Israel still flatly refuses to talk with the PLO. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, vital donors to the PLO, are furious with Arafat for supporting Saddam. By Arafat's own count, the organization lost \$100 million worth of contributions from the gulf this year. Even among Saddam's backers his credibility is low. "All the PLO leader-

ship said they would be in the trenches with the Iraqis," says one Jordanian official. "Nobody showed up."

For the moment, the PLO chairman is surviving by default. But while lip service to PLO unity continues, intrigues are proliferating even among senior members of the organization. Top PLO officials admit privately that they are considering new leadership possibilities. In a more sinister vein, some PLO moderates are worried about attacks by radical groups inside and outside the organization. One moderate suggested the United States make extradition of Palestinian terrorists from Baghdad one of its conditions for a cease-fire. "Why not sweep them clean, all of them?" he asked.

Such disarray puts even the organization's cherished independence at risk. Syrian

President Hafez Assad has long wanted to dominate the Palestinian movement. Ideologically, he considers Palestine, like Lebanon, a part of Greater Syria. Personally, his hatred of Arafat is legendary. In 1983 Assad backed a bloody rebellion against the PLO chairman. It failed, but its leaders have lingered in Damascus since. Now Assad is pushing them back onto center stage. When the foreign ministers of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia visited Damascus earlier this month, they pointedly met with Assad's candidates for PLO leadership.

The Syrian-backed Palestinians have always lacked money. If their relations with the gulf states improve, they could get the cash Arafat is now denied. But many Kuwaitis and Saudis would like the Palestinians written off altogether. Asked about support for the PLO in the name of Pan-Arabism, a U.S.-educated Kuwaiti journalist says bluntly, "This is history."

Such pressures expose the essential irony of Arafat's position and the PLO's. While demanding freedom of action, the organization can hardly survive on its own. Already, PLO officials have sent feelers to Jordan's King Hussein about creating a joint delegation to negotiate with Israel. Such formulas have failed before, amid Jordanian complaints that Arafat reneged on commitments. Since 1988 the king has held that if the PLO is the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people," it must take responsibility for its actions. That is one concession Arafat still refuses to make.

CHRISTOPHER DICKEY in Amman

Hellfighters to the Rescue

Boots, Coots and Red saddle up to douse the world's biggest oil fire

Hardly anyone thinks America should be the policeman of the world any more, but the United States does have the fireman's job nailed down firmly. As Kuwait begins this week to address in earnest the problem of hundreds of oil wells set aflame by fleeing Iraqis, it will call in Red Adair, Inc., Boots & Coots and Wild Well Control. These outfits do not work by

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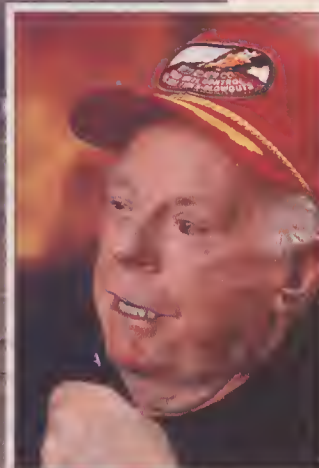
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know, after numerous expeditions to Mexico, Sumatra and Oklahoma, exactly what they are doing. "This is really no different than any of the jobs we've ever gone to," says Wild Well president Joe Bowden. "It's just bigger."

Even if their estimates are correct, though, there is no cause for rejoicing. One day can be a long time when dealing with conditions that are wreaking havoc on the environment and the Kuwaiti economy. By some estimates, as much as 5 million barrels of crude—worth about \$87 million—is going up in thick black smoke daily. In Kuwait City headlights go on at noon and air-pollution indexes have skyrocketed. A greasy, charcoal-gray rain is falling for hundreds of miles downwind, disrupting the delicate desert ecology and endangering neighboring countries.

Kuwait's fields of fire

(INSET), PETER TURNLEY FOR NEWSWEEK



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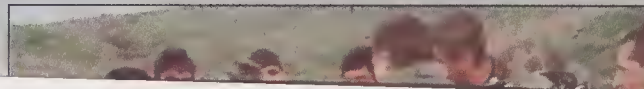
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The firefighters aren't claiming it will be easy to snuff out the sometimes 400-foot plumes of flame. They simply maintain that when it comes to dealing with deadly gas, 4,000-degree temperatures and sand so hot that it turns to liquid glass, they know, after numerous expeditions to Mexico, Sumatra and Oklahoma, exactly what they are doing. "This is really no different than any of the jobs we've ever gone to," says Wild Well president Joe Bowden. "It's just bigger."

Even if their estimates are correct, though, there is no cause for rejoicing. One day can be a long time when dealing with conditions that are wreaking havoc on the environment and the Kuwaiti economy. By some estimates, as much as 5 million barrels of crude—worth about \$87 million—is going up in thick black smoke daily. In Kuwait City headlights go on at noon and air-pollution indexes have skyrocketed. A greasy, charcoal-gray rain is falling for hundreds of miles downwind, disrupting the delicate desert ecology and endangering neighboring countries.

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of the worst-hit beaches last week and, said one official, "read the riot act" to bureaucrats involved in the stalled operation. But "this ain't California," says an American diplomat in Riyadh; the environment in

the gulf has traditionally ranked barely above women's rights.

The raging fires have led to predictions of environmental disarray—and doom. Thus far the worst-case scenarios have been avoided. The dense, poisonous smoke has stayed below the cloud layer, where it's less likely to block out the sun and cause a condition similar to nuclear winter. Nor does it seem that the billowing blackness will interfere with weather systems that drive the Indian monsoons, causing the subcontinent to be lashed by acid rain. But the potential for those and other disasters remains. Strong spring winds, known as the khamsin, have roared in on schedule, sending the pollution—which contains deadly sulfur dioxide, as well as traces of

THE GULF LOOKING AHEAD

Up in smoke: Adair (inset) and his colleagues tackle Kuwait's fields of fire

HOWELL—GAMMA-LIAISON (INSET); PETER TURNLEY FOR NEWSWEEK



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poisonous metals such as arsenic, lead and copper—swirling across the Middle East. Of greater worry is the prospect of a sudden temperature inversion, common in Kuwait in summer, that would trap the poisons in the air. By some accounts the result would be an oppressive smog that could kill people and animals.

The Iraqis seem to have had no military motive for creating this disaster, only a desperate anger. The fleeing soldiers, realizing they could hold out no longer, trashed parts of the Kuwait Oil Co.-owned hotel at Ahmadi field, fouling the carpet with human excrement. According to Raymond Henry, executive vice president of Red Adair's company, the Iraqis attempted to ignite every last oil well in Kuwait, packing down the base of each with enough Russian-made plastic explosives to destroy an office building. Some wells survived only because of a malfunction in the electronic detonation devices. But those wells remain time bombs, susceptible to being set off accidentally. It is this vast amount of unexploded military ordnance that concerns the hellfighters most. "We're not used to worrying about where we step unless it's the possibility that a rattlesnake might bite you," says Henry.

Serious preparations began last week. The firefighters have decided to first attack the smokiest wells, which are located near the Kuwait airport. After that they'll move southward to the immensely productive Burgan Field, where the fires are costing

the most money. Wearing nothing more extraordinary than cotton overalls, they will, in most cases, attack the fire by hosing down the area and then maneuvering dynamite into the well. The ensuing explosion will suck oxygen from the area and snuff out the flame. Then, dripping water and oil, the men will move in quickly with a new set of valves, known as a "Christmas tree," which they will fit onto the existing pipe and gradually close to form a seal. One mistake and they will be blown sky high. "People don't realize the power we're dealing with," says Adair, who at the age of 75 plans to oversee his operations from his Houston office. "You take a water faucet—that's 50 pounds of pressure. We're dealing with 1,500 to 7,000 pounds of pressure." Adair, like the other contractors, won't divulge the flat day rate he's charging the Kuwaitis, but his company is expected to make millions. "If you think experts are expensive," says Raymond Henry, "try calling an amateur."

The job is "going to be tough as hell, with only TV, cards and work, work, work seven days a week," says Paul King, a manager with OGE Drilling Inc., of Midland, Texas, which is coordinating the three American and one Canadian contractors. In Kuwait, Bechtel Group has begun readying pipeline that will allow water to be pumped from the Persian Gulf to the oilfields. Meanwhile, Brian Krause, one of the hellfighters scheduled to arrive in Kuwait this week, went to Las Vegas with his girlfriend for some preparations of his own.

"I'm going to get all the sex and drink I can," he said. "Because it's going to be a long two or three months over there before we get any relief."

One thing the hellfighters probably won't get much respite from is unsolicited suggestions. Because this is history's most highly publicized snuffin' and cappin', a lot of people who don't know an oil well from a hole in the ground—who've probably never heard ole Red tell how he successfully snuffed out the Devil's Cigarette Lighter in '62—want to get involved. Some think the U.S. military should get involved by exploding so-called fuel-air bombs above the wells to put out the fire. Diplomatic considerations, and rapidly shifting winds, render that idea temporarily unworkable. The hellfighters might also be happy to hear that a group of Harvard physicists has a suggestion: build an S-shaped piece of sheet metal, called an Emmons combuster, around the burning well. This creates a small vortex of fire which should remove soot emissions from the atmosphere. Most oil-patch cowboys can understand why that would happen; what they can't grasp is why some people make things so complicated. "Fires are no big deal to us," says Krause. Of course, it's part of the unwritten macho code to take that position, even as the whole world watches, and roots for you to succeed.

CHARLES LEERHSEN and
SHARON BEGLEY with
MELINDA LIU in Kuwait,
GINNY CARROLL in
Houston, RON MOREAU
in Dhahran and
SPENCER REISS in Riyadh

Snuffin' and Cappin' in the Desert

For many of the 520 wells still ablaze in Kuwait, firefighters will use water, explosives and raw courage to extinguish the infernos; then they'll use a "Christmas tree" made of valves and pipes to cap the gushers.



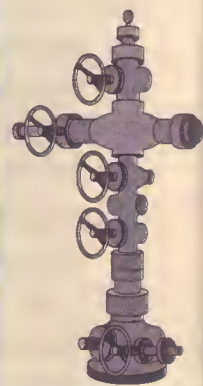
1 Under a constant barrage of water, a crane mounted on a bulldozer removes debris from around the well. Sometimes the water alone is used to put out the flames but its main purpose is cooling the men, equipment and the site.

2 On tougher fires, the crane operator suspends a barrel filled with explosives in the gap between the wellhead and the bottom of the flame. Then he runs for cover behind a shield and detonates the charge electronically. Boom!

3 The explosion sucks all the oxygen away from the flame, smothering it. The crane then lowers a new "Christmas tree" onto the well. The valves are slowly closed, stopping the flow of oil.

ILLUSTRATIONS BY JARED SCHNEIDMAN

"Christmas Tree" Valve Unit



'I Thought I Was Going to Die'

Shaken but alive, the POWs tell tales of horror

The crippled Warthog lurched through the skies over Iraq. A "golden BB" from an Iraqi anti-aircraft battery had pierced the skin of the A-10 attack plane, ripping into the exposed belly under the cockpit seat of Capt. Richard Dale Storr. Titanium armor saved his life. Fumbling for the manual backup controls, he struggled to keep the plane aloft. He didn't want to be taken prisoner. He fought until the battlefield below came looming up toward him. When he finally bailed out, the Warthog was so close to the ground that his wingman didn't see him get out alive. On returning to base, he reported that Captain Storr had gone down with his plane. The U.S. Air Force listed him as killed in action. His unit held a memorial service—and sent his gear back home.

Badly shaken but alive, Storr and 20 other American POWs were home safe last week, coping with waves of good wishes and bad memories. For the wounded, the military supplied Purple Hearts and corrective surgery; for other kinds of trauma, batteries of doctors and psychiatrists. Lt. Jeffrey Zaun, the POW whose swollen face on *NEWSWEEK*'s Feb. 4 cover and thick-tongued sound bites on TV had outraged Americans against Saddam Hussein, said he had feared for his life 90 percent of the time, though 90 percent of his cuts and bruises had been "flail injuries" from ejecting at 500 miles per hour. Maj. Jeffrey Tice wasn't so fortunate. He said his interrogators had wrapped wires around his ears and under his chin and delivered "a little bit of electrical shock therapy" trying to force him to make a propaganda videotape. He called the prompting device a "talk man."

To register at the "Baghdad Biltmore," you had to survive flak and missiles in the air and furious Iraqis on the ground. Alerted by a thin wisp of smoke, Lt. Col. Clifford Acree saw a white-hot missile burning toward his OV-10 Bronco reconnaissance craft; he had one second to hit the silk. Down, down drifted Lt. Robert

Sweet, right onto the tanks he had just been strafing ("the soldiers who captured me weren't too happy, but the officers kind of rescued me"). Only a mile separated Lt. Lawrence Slade and Lt. Devon Jones, his partner, after their F-14 Tomcat bought it. Jones floated down near a riverbed, dug a hole and hid. He was rescued. Slade scratched at a pile of rocks while a white Datsun pickup bore down



JEAN-LOUIS ATLAN—SYGMA

Zaun (center) relives the worst moments of his life

on him, and a bleak thought raced through his mind: "The game is up."

Captain Storr fell to earth five miles short of the Kuwait border and the possibility of escape. The Iraqis shaved his head, blindfolded him and shuttled him from bunker to bunker for three days as they shipped him north. On the trip to Baghdad he thought they were going to shoot him: "They would get real angry and aim their guns at my head, and I would think, 'Well, this is it. It's over'." Storr and other POWs wound up in a

dark jail whose thick masonry walls oozed a damp chill that sank into their bruised bodies. The cells were the size of dog kennels. In one corner a reeking hole served for a toilet; in another there was a grubby depression for washing. Chow was a porridge of rice and wet beans with a pitcher of water to wash it down. At night, Chief Warrant Officer Guy Hunter, 46, lay in his cell thinking, "You are getting too old for this stuff."

All of the POWs were kept in solitary confinement. Waiting in their cells, they could hear the thud of approaching footsteps when the interrogators came. Guards blindfolded Storr and moved him to a room beyond the cellblock. When looking for information on troop movements or military plans, the third-degree teams would hit him on the face, knees and shoulders with something that felt like a bunch of tied sticks. Over time, they broke his nose and injured his knee and shoulder so badly he went lame. Then they punctured his right eardrum. The beatings made him numb; he didn't know how badly he was hurt for a while. Then he tried to clear his ringing ears by holding his nose and blowing: "The left ear cleared," he remembers. "But the air just whistled through my right ear."

Trapped: On the night of Feb. 23, allied bombers hit the Baghdad Biltmore. A thunderous explosion knocked out an iron grille that barred the window in Storr's cell, burying him under rubble. "That was the scariest part—of the war, in my whole life," he recalls. "I thought for sure I was going to die that night." For a while Storr lay trapped. Then he heard an American voice calling, "Storr—is that you?" Other prisoners, the first Americans he had seen in 21 days, dug him out. Through the dust, he recognized CBS correspondent Bob Simon. He asked the newsmen to get word out that he was alive; but Simon was a prisoner, too. Guards swarmed back and herded the POWs away to new quarters. Thrown together after lonely stretches of solitary confinement, they stayed up all night exchanging war stories. They named the new prison "Joliet" after the jug that John Belushi got out of in "The Blues Brothers."

After the Iraqis released Storr and the other POWs on March 6, a Red Cross plane evacuated them from Baghdad. They made a stop aboard *The Mercy*, a hospital ship off Bahrain. Then they returned to cheering crowds in the United States. "I learned a couple of things over there," Storr reflected. "You can only get so scared, you can only get so hungry, you can only get so dirty." When he arrived at Andrews Air Force Base last week, he still had "a Frankenstein scar" on his forehead—but the top-gun grin on his face was strictly Tom Cruise.

TOM MATHEWS with MARCUS MABRY
in Washington and bureau reports

**THE GULF
COMING
HOME**

Brutality on the Beat

The attack by white cops on a black motorist spotlights the troubled LAPD

The four defendants were photographed and fingerprinted and brought before a Los Angeles superior-court judge. The principal charge in the grand-jury indictment was assault with a deadly weapon. After bail and a hearing date were set, Stacey Koon, Ted Briseno, Laurence Powell and Timothy Wind were free to go. Routine courtroom business in a city with the nation's third highest rate of violent crime. But this time the four men were L.A. cops, principal players in an amateur videotape that has kindled a national outrage. What it showed was the police equivalent of wilding: a young black motorist stopped for speeding March 3 was shot with a stun gun by one officer, then viciously clubbed, stomped and kicked more than 50 times by three others. Eleven other police—also white—looked on as 25-year-old Rodney King had his skull broken in nine places. As anger mounted last week, so did demands for the resignation of Police Chief Daryl Gates. The combative top cop stood firm, even as aides to Mayor Tom Bradley worked behind the scenes to oust him. "I'm not going anywhere," Gates said.

Strong-arm style: If Gates hangs on, he'll be forced to make sweeping changes in his 8,300-member department. Critics say the King tape only confirms what Los Angeles blacks and Hispanics have long alleged—that their police force is violent and abusive. The city paid out \$8.1 million in damages last year to victims of excessive force. A local watchdog agency, the Police Misconduct Lawyer Referral Service, logged more than 600 complaints against L.A. cops in 1990 and 127 in just the first two months of this year. Civil-rights advocates say the numbers don't tell the whole story. "For every complaint that's filed, there's at least five or more that aren't," says attorney Geraldine Green, former president of the city's Civil Service Commission. Others say the department's strong-arm style begins with Gates, who has had a contentious relationship with minorities during his 13-year tenure. "He sets the tone of arrogance and disrespect that is read as an invitation to violence by the troops below," says UCLA law professor Henry W. McGee Jr.

The King assault has sparked a broader debate about out-of-control cops. Attorney General Richard Thornburgh announced last week that the Justice Department will



Protest and pressure: At a police hearing on the King beating (box), critics demand

review the nearly 15,000 complaints of police brutality filed with the federal government over the last six years. The probe will look for racial or geographic patterns to the violence. No centralized statistics exist, but law-enforcement professionals and black officials are convinced that the problem is getting worse. "There is a culture of violence that has swept the nation's police forces," said Rep. John Conyers, a member of the Congressional Black Caucus who asked for the federal review. A majority of

Americans agree. A *NEWSWEEK* Poll (box) shows that 62 percent believe that minority groups suffer at the hands of police.

Analysts say police brutality has its roots in racism, poor training, slack departmental discipline and fraternal traditions that encourage officers to look the other way when their colleagues turn violent. Others warn that pressure for results in the drug war has fallen unfairly on the shoulders of its infantry soldier, the cop on the street. When frustration builds, violence can be



PHOTOS BY DOUGLAS R. BURROWS—GAMMA-LIAISON

the ouster of Chief Daryl Gates (above)

the result. "We're asking police to solve problems that society itself has been unable or unwilling to tackle," says Kenneth Moran, a professor at the John Jay College of Criminal Justice in New York.

The pressures are particularly acute in sprawling Los Angeles. A tide of drugs and gang violence has stretched a thin force to the seams. With 8,300 officers for 3.5 million residents, L.A. has the smallest ratio of cops to residents of any major American city. Racial disparities compound the

problem. The force is dominated by whites in a city with large minority populations. While L.A. is 40 percent Hispanic, only 22 percent of its officers are Latino. Critics say the department's "Joe Friday" tradition of authoritarian detachment is out of sync with other cities, where officials are trying to strengthen bonds between police and their communities. They argue that the result is a recipe for the kind of rampage captured on the King videotape. "People find it hard to believe that the ones that are sworn to serve and protect are capable of what happened to King," says Green.

Tensions over the King incident have deepened the wedge of mistrust between police and minorities. Many cops feel that they themselves have been victimized. "I'm getting a lot more hard looks out there. People are challenging us more," says Sgt. Phil Jackson. At roll call in tough south-central L.A. last Friday night, the 19-year veteran warned his officers not to second-guess themselves. "Don't be afraid to use your baton or Taser or whatever you need to protect yourself. You can't be afraid to do what you have to do out there," he said. He also urged them to ask for help if they found themselves in a tense spot. "If you've got somebody out there who's hassling you, get ahold of us," he said. "Count to 10, 20, 30, and try to do the best you can."

Paranoid dramas: Cruising in his patrol car later that night, Jackson found that his cops were quick to take him up on the offer. Routine police calls turned into paranoid dramas as residents poured into the street to monitor every move by officers. Concerned about being contradicted by hostile civilian witnesses, anxious cops called in extra patrol cars for backup. As 18 officers sorted out a drunken domestic dispute that had spilled onto a lawn, four women shouted from a balcony, "I've got my video camera out. I've got my video camera out." The taunt was an empty one—there was no camera—but it heightened the sense of fish-bowl imprisonment felt by south-central cops. "It's ridiculous. You can't even write a ticket anymore," one complained.

Gates's tough style heightens the ill will. Last week he defended his record by telling reporters that he had "lots of friends in the black communi-

ty." When the department was under fire for the choke-hold deaths of blacks several years ago, he blamed the victims for not having veins in their necks "like normal people." Gates has been a cop for 42 of his 64 years, and associates describe him as an aloof administrator driven by an iron personal discipline. Hospitalized for pneumonia once, he was caught doing push-ups on the floor of his room. In 1985, when his drug-abusing son was jailed for robbing a pharmacy, Gates said, "He'll get no help from me."

Gates will not be easy to dislodge. He serves at the pleasure of a five-member police board, which can fire him only if it demonstrates "good and significant cause" to the city's Board of Civil Service Commissioners. The system is common in conservative sun-belt cities, where early-century reformers tried to insulate public officials from political abuses encountered in older Eastern cities. It may produce a less corrupt police department, but also one insensitive to minority concerns. "President Bush has more control over Colin Powell than Tom Bradley has over Daryl Gates," complains McGee.

Analysts say police brutality is likely to go unchecked until top commanders like Gates convey the unequivocal message



GEORGE HOLLIDAY

Police and Force

Nearly half of Americans say Gates should leave office, and most think minorities are commonly victims of police brutality.

From what you have seen or heard about the recent videotaped incident of police brutality in Los Angeles, should Police Chief Daryl Gates remain in office?

45 % No 32 % Yes

How much police brutality against members of minority groups do you think there is around the country these days?

21 % A lot 21 % Little
41 % Considerable 10 % Very little

From the NEWSWEEK Poll of March 14-15, 1991

that it will not be tolerated. But departments routinely fail to eliminate "problem" police before they do serious harm. Briseno, one of the four indicted in the King beating, was suspended without pay for two months in 1987 after he kicked and struck a handcuffed man. While many cities take allegations of excessive force seriously, bringing cops to justice can be difficult. Officers dependent on colleagues for their safety are notoriously

reluctant to cooperate in criminal investigations. And complainants in brutality cases often have less than pristine backgrounds (King had been paroled on a robbery charge), making juries reluctant to find in their favor. "The typical victim of police brutality is someone who is considered undesirable by society," says John Jay College professor Robert Panzarella. Videotaped evidence doesn't guarantee a conviction. Cameras captured a 1988

riot at Tompkins Square Park in New York, generating 121 complaints of police violence, six indictments—but no convictions. Los Angeles jurors may decide differently. Even if they do, it will be a long time before some there feel safe—from the police who took an oath to serve and protect them.

BILL TURQUE with LINDA BUCKLEY and LYNDY WRIGHT in Los Angeles, BOB COHN in Washington and bureau reports



PHOTOS BY RICHARD PERRY—SYGMA

Indicted: LAPD officers Stacey Koon, Timothy Wind, Laurence Powell, Ted Briseno

Why It Happened: An L.A. Cop's View

BY SUSAN YOCUM

The videotaped beating of Rodney King shocked the nation. A black man is cruelly battered by three white police officers. Other officers watch and none attempts to stop the wicked frenzy. The Los Angeles Police Department stands accused of brutality and racism. Its reputation for excellence and professionalism has been shattered. And the pride I felt as a Los Angeles police officer is profoundly shaken.

Why did it happen? The officers who brutalized King are no better than the worst criminal I've ever put in jail. They failed to see him as a fellow human being. But blame cannot be placed on the department's training, policies or leadership. It's not that simple. Our job's extraordinary demands are no excuse, but they can't be ignored. There's more to the story.

Police officers are condi-

tioned by experience to expect the worst in encounters with the public. We've seen over and over how seemingly benign situations can result in our own deaths. Last month our fellow officer Tina Kerbrat was killed by a man whom she had planned to ticket for drinking in public. He shot her without warning, point blank in the face. Work on the streets has bred not racism but an understanding that the only people we can truly trust are the ones wearing the same uniform.

The rising crime rate, the decay of school systems, the deterioration of family structures and increasing unemployment have all conspired to make our job so difficult. The social conditions within which we operate are complex. So are the range of emotions each cop experiences daily. We never know what to expect but we all want to see tomorrow.

In King's case, officers were led on a vehicle pursuit. Refusing to stop, King blasted

through red lights. A victimless car chase is a Hollywood myth. In the real world, a citizen or a cop may die. Cops have learned that a person crazy enough to run from the police may have a sinister motive in mind.

Any officer pursuing King that night would have felt: how dare this person put innocent lives in jeopardy? What is he going to try when I catch him? When King's pursuers finally caught him, the adrenaline rush must have fueled the extremes of terror and anger. Police officers are human; those officers lost control and the beating resembled a feeding frenzy.

What can be said of the officers who appear merely to be watching? Those officers failed to react, despite extensive training. Among cops, peer pressure can be stronger than the duty to intervene.

No one can justify the actions of the officers who participated in the beating or the inaction of the cops who looked on. The officers

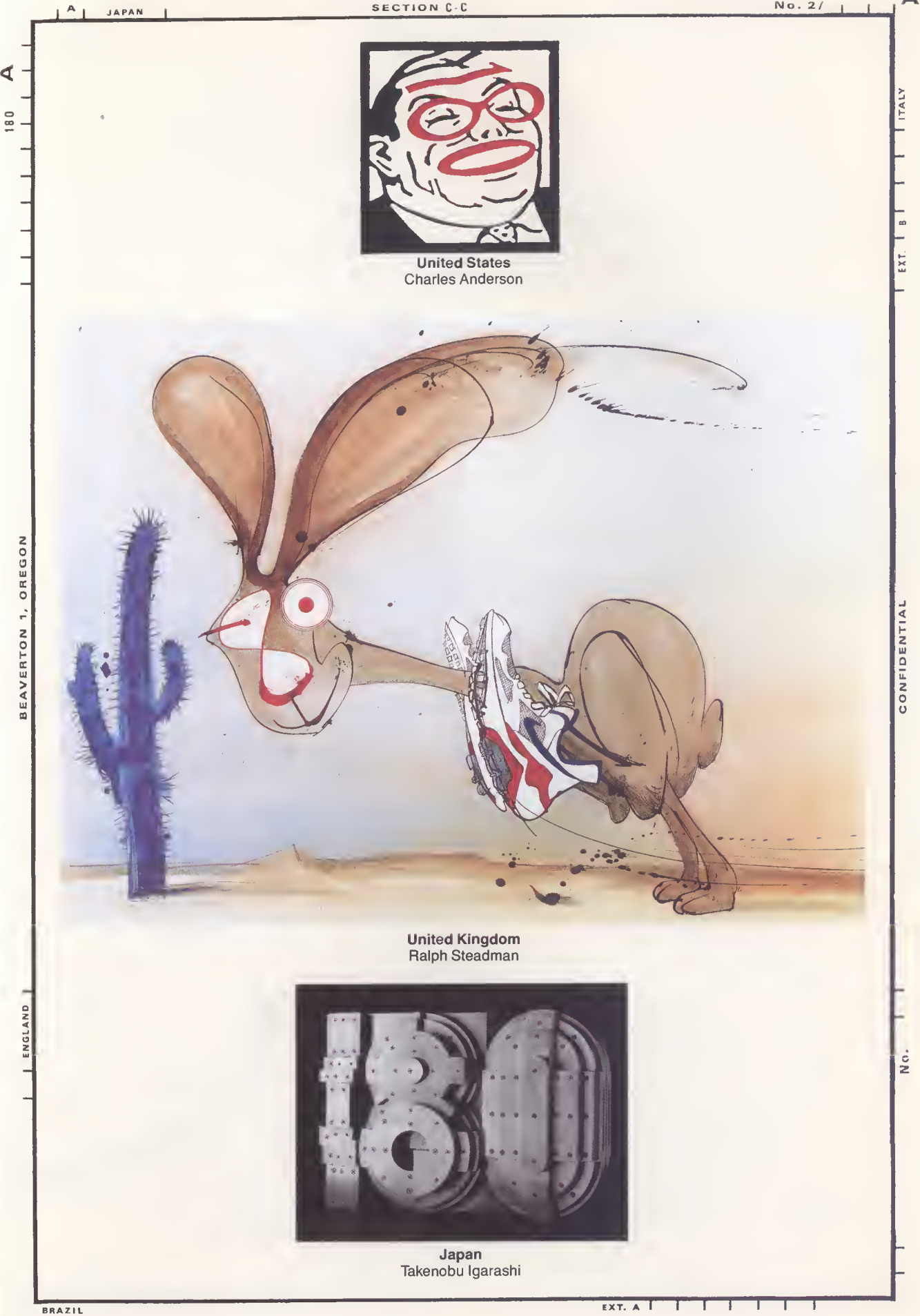
showed the whole world the darkest side of police work. But they do not represent the thousands of decent cops, or the spirit of the LAPD.

I know that the LAPD deserves support. Listen to the black, brown, yellow and white officers who are proud members of this department, men and women who would recognize and abhor institutionalized racism and brutality if it existed. Listen to the families of officers who have been killed. They will tell you why the slain man or woman was so proud to have been a Los Angeles police officer. Listen to the reasons why, even now in the face of public distrust, we continue risking our lives to protect and serve the people of Los Angeles.

The greatest testament to the LAPD's integrity is our outrage. If we knew that brutality and racism were systemic, no amount of money would keep us. If we did not feel that the King incident was an aberration, no rhetoric would justify our faith in a department we found morally repugnant. If we did not believe that our leaders could guide us through this ordeal, we would not allow them to remain.

The images of a defenseless man savaged by Los Angeles cops won't soon fade, nor should they. But this tragedy will make the department stronger. I honestly don't know how I would have reacted if I had pulled up on the scene that night. But I know now what I will do if it ever happens to me.

Yocum has been an officer with the LAPD since 1988.



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BEAVERTON 1, OREGON



Figure 1

B. 180 Air unit ~
50% larger to provide
more cushioning than
previous Nike-Air® units

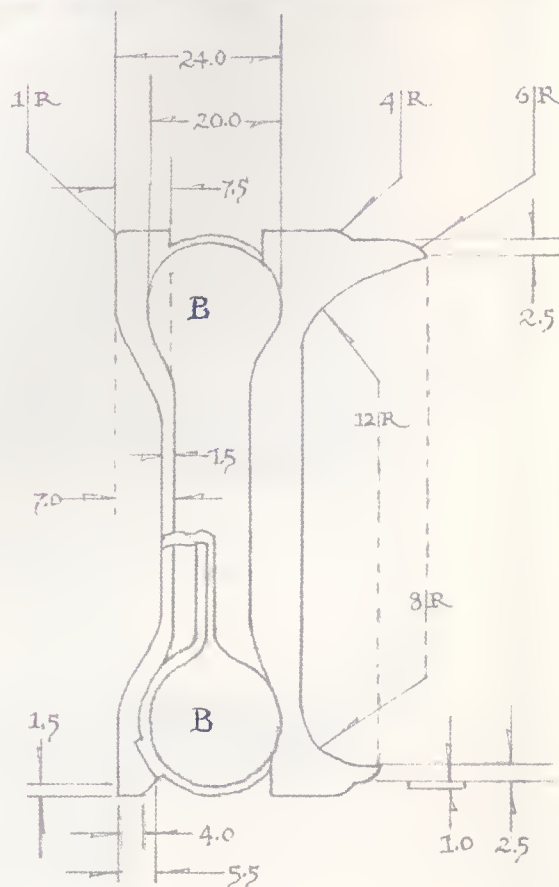


Figure 2

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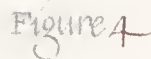
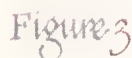
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D. Dynamic Fit™ sleeve system allows for anatomical differences through unique stretch characteristics



「Hasta el momento nadie ha podido superar la capacidad de amortiguación ni la comodidad de las zapatillas Nike-Air.

「Por primera vez presentamos el sistema de amortiguación Air 180 en las zapatillas de Running Air 180.

「Es parecido al sistema de amortiguación Nike Air que Vd. ya conoce, pero hemos conseguido perfeccionarlo aún más. La unidad Air 180 situada bajo el talón es un 50% más grande, reemplaza a la suela intermedia así como a la exterior. a la vez que proporciona la mayor amortiguación que cualquiera de nuestros productos haya ofrecido hasta el momento. Además el sistema de amortiguación Nike Air implica menos peso, por lo que la zapatilla Air 180 es extremadamente ligera.

「Próximamente, también incorporaremos el sistema de amortiguación Air 180 en nuestras zapatillas de Basketball, y Cross Training. En la actualidad ya está disponible en la zapatilla de Running Air 180. En todo el mundo.

今日まで、クッションと履き心地の良さでナイキエア®の右にできるものはありませんでした。ところがそれも過去のこと。

180 Air™クッションが開発され、ナイキ Air 180™ランニングシューズが新登場。

180 Airは従来のナイキエアと基本的には同じですが、さらに優れたクッション性を備えました。かかと部のミッドソールとアウトソールのかわりに従来のナイキエアユニットよりも50%大きい180 Airユニットを搭載したのです。ですから、そのクッション性は今までにつくられたシューズよりもいっそう優れたものとなりました。ナイキエアクッシングが大きいければ大きいほど、より軽量なわけですから、Air 180は超軽量シューズです。もう何ヵ月かすれば、バスケットボール、クロストレーニングシューズにも180 Air クッシング・テクノロジーが搭載されます。けれどまずはAir 180ランニングシューズが全世界で発売です。



「Im Hinblick auf dauerhafte Dämpfung und optimalen Komfort konnte Nike Air® bisher nicht übertriffen werden.

「Jedenfalls bis jetzt nicht.

「Ab sofort gibt es die Dämpfung 180 Air, die zum ersten Mal im Laufschuh Nike Air 180 erhältlich ist.

「Sie entspricht der bekannten Nike Air®-Dämpfung, nur ist sie sogar noch besser. Das Luftkissen des 180 Air im Fersenbereich ist 50% größer und ersetzt in diesem Bereich die Mittel- sowie die Außensohle.

「Durch dieses neue System wird eine weit höhere Dämpfung, als bei allen anderen vorherigen Nike Air® Modellen gewährleistet.

「Und mehr Nike Air®-Dämpfung bedeutet geringeres Gewicht, folglich ist das Modell Air 180 erstaunlich leicht.

「In den nächsten Monaten werden Sie die Dämpfung Air 180 in Nike Basketball- und Trainingsschuhen finden. Heute ist sie aber schon im Laufschuh Air 180 erhältlich und dies weltweit.

「Nothing has ever been able to surpass Nike-Air® for cushioning and comfort. At least not until now. Introducing 180 Air™ cushioning, available for the first time in the Nike Air 180™ running shoe. It's like the Nike-Air cushioning you know, only more so. The 180 Air unit in the heel is 50% larger, replaces both the midsole and outsole and provides more cushioning than anything we've ever designed. And more Nike-Air cushioning means less weight, so the Air 180 shoe is also amazingly light. In the months to come you'll find 180 Air cushioning in Nike shoes for basketball and cross-training. But today it's available in the Air 180 running shoe. All over the world.

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DESIGN: BRUCE KILGORE	DRAWN: DUGALD STERNBERG
DEVELOPMENT: MIKE OLIVA	
NIKE • 180 • AIR BEAVERTON OREGON DESIGN SPECIFICATIONS	
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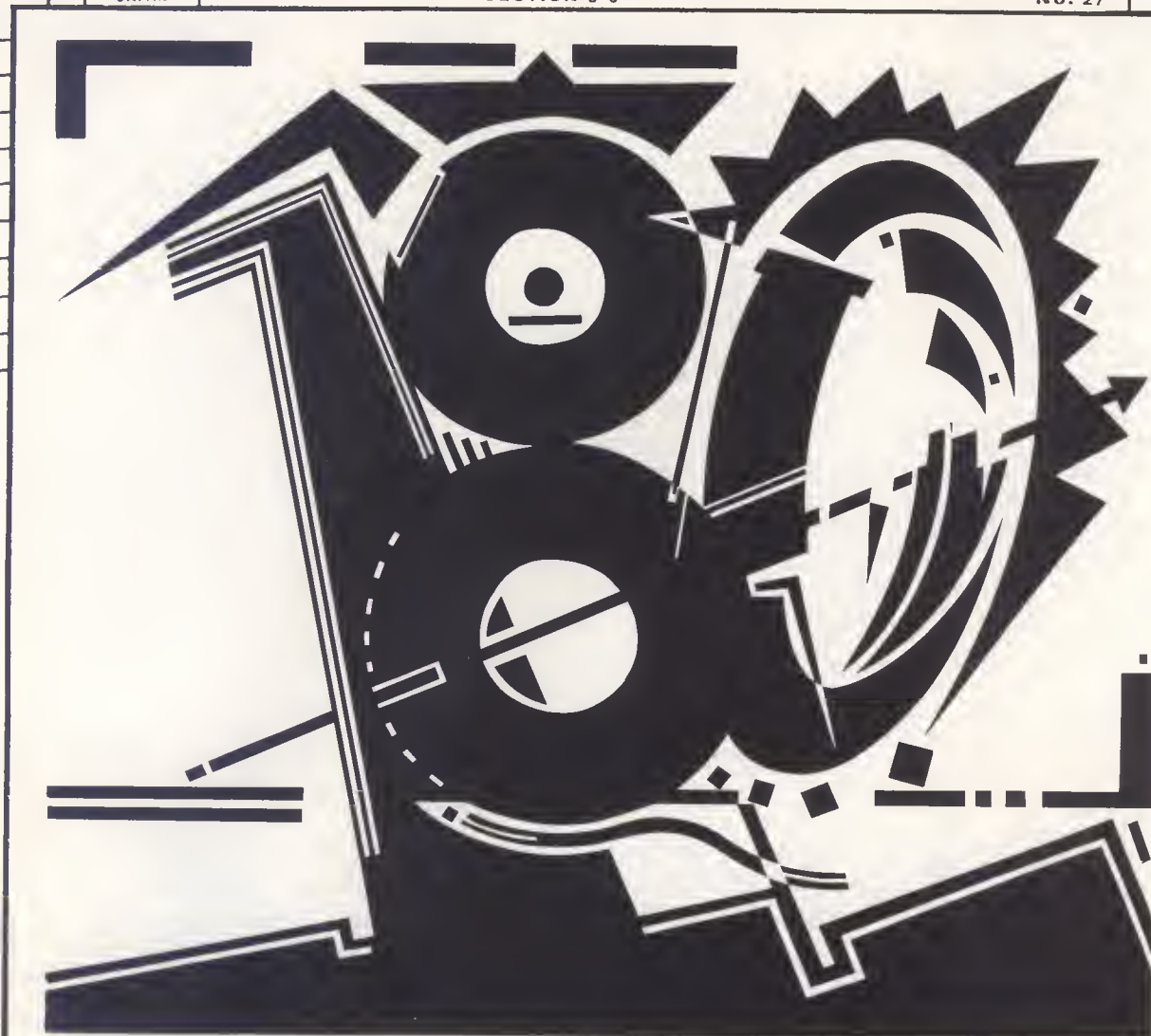
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MARK PETERSON—JB PICTURES

Searching for a winning strategy against crime: Police on a drug bust in the Triangle District of Opa-Locka, Fla.

The War at Home: How to Battle Crime

As murder rates rise in America's cities, a search for strategies to win the fight against violence

Forget Desert Storm: the real war is being fought on the streets of U.S. cities and towns. Violent crime, much of it drug-related, is on the rise in virtually every city in America. Inner-city neighborhoods are disintegrating in an escalating cycle of mayhem. Guns, including paramilitary assault weapons, seem to be everywhere—even in the hands of children. At least 19 U.S. cities eclipsed their previous records for homicide last year, and Senate experts estimate that 23,200 Americans—a bleak new high for the nation as a whole—were murdered in 1990. "During every 100 hours on our streets we lose three times more young men than were killed in 100 hours of ground war in the Persian Gulf," Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan lamented last week. "Where are the yellow ribbons of hope and remembrance? . . . Where is the concern, the heartfelt commitment to support the children of *this* war?"

The nation needs a strategy for the war against crime. It also needs to transcend the sterile debate between liberals and conservatives that has stalled effective national action for most of the past decade—and which, in 1991, is likely to stall passage of the Bush administration's crime bill, or any other crime bill, for the third year in a row. "The conservative camp blames the evil that lurks in the hearts of men and wants to build more prisons," says Franklin Zimring, director of the Earl Warren Legal Institute of the University of California, Berkeley. "The liberal camp goes off in every other direction, essentially arguing that we can't cure social problems by locking people up." Now, as Zimring says, "our crime rate is sufficiently large that we can bow generously to both camps." Essentially, that means blending the traditional dogmas of the right and left in a new understanding of what many experts are coming to regard as a uniquely American problem.

America's success in the Persian Gulf presents a tempting analogy, along with a host of overworked military metaphors, for the war against crime. That is why George Bush, speaking to a joint session of Congress on March 6, invoked the can-do patriotism of Operation Desert Storm to plead for speedy approval of his crime bill. "If our forces could win the ground war in 100 hours, then surely the Congress can pass this legislation in 100 days," the president said. Predictably enough, the bill that Bush proposes is a pragmatic version of the conservative, get-tough approach to crime. It would expand the use of the death penalty for certain federal offenders such as terrorists and drug "kingpins." It would stiffen penalties for the use of assault weapons during the commission of a crime, limit legal appeals for inmates on death row and allow "good-faith" exceptions to current restrictions on the use of evidence by police and prosecutors. And almost certainly, it will reignite the same old crime-and-punishment debate that has paralyzed Congress for years. "What's missing from this bill," says Democrat Joe Biden, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, "is anything that will stop crime."

Biden, along with many nonpartisan experts, argues that the president's bill is one more example of the national predilection for punishment over prevention. Indeed, politicians and policymakers at all levels of government seem bent on expanding the "inputs" of the criminal-justice system—hiring more police, making more arrests

and building more jail cells to house more criminals for longer periods of time—while doing little or nothing to improve the “outputs.” America is on a punishment binge. Felony arrests for violent crimes soared 37 percent between 1985 and 1989, and 1.1 million Americans are currently behind bars. That translates into a national incarceration rate of 426 inmates per 100,000 population, the highest in the world. Whether or not these international comparisons are meaningful—it is arguable, for example, that American society simply produces more criminals per capita than other cultures—many analysts agree that the U.S. criminal-justice system is headed toward a form of nervous breakdown. “I have never seen so much frustration and hopelessness among local government leaders as there is with today’s crime problems,” says Donald Haider, a public-policy specialist at Northwestern University.

Crime is not, as liberals have long maintained, simply a product of poverty—and it is not, as conservatives have sometimes argued, primarily a byproduct of epidemic drug abuse. “Simple explanations—guns, drugs, poverty—fail to explain the American phenomenon,” says Douglas McDonald, a senior social scientist at Abt Associates, a policy-research and consulting firm in Cambridge, Mass. Instead, as McDonald and others argue, crime rates rise when social controls—the family, the church, the neighborhood, and all the invisible bonds of a coherent community—break down. “Many communities have high poverty rates but low crime rates,” McDonald says. “Italian villagers live on the ground their ancestors lived on in the 1500s, and crime rates reflect the familiarity of one household for another. Social controls are operating.” But “where you find transition, mobility, rapid social change and a more transient population”—an apt description of many U.S. communities today—you also find higher crime rates, he says.

\$130 sneakers: Coupled with the quintessentially American emphasis on money, upward mobility and status-oriented consumption, this breakdown of community cohesion can and does have a devastating impact on the young. Poverty is indeed a cause of crime. But it is *relative* poverty—the perception of being dirt-poor in a society that makes Michael Jordan and Bo Jackson millionaires—that counts. The relentless exploitation of the youth market is, in a sense, a contributing cause of crime: if you’re nobody without a pair of \$130 sneakers, a \$350 leather jacket and a \$40 hair-

The Cities’ Deadly Tally

■ An estimated 23,200 people were murdered in the United States last year, a new record.

■ During the gulf air war, 24 Americans were killed in action; in the same period, there were 52 homicides in Dallas.

■ In Los Angeles, there is one police officer for every 417 citizens; in Washington, D.C., the ratio of cops to citizens is 1 to 126.

■ With 426 prisoners per 100,000 citizens, the U.S. has the world’s highest incarceration rate.

■ Roughly 29 percent of Americans were crime victims in 1988 compared with 9 percent of Japan’s residents.

cut, getting a fast \$500 can acquire overwhelming significance. “Criminality is a perfectly rational choice,” says Ronald Allen, a law professor at Northwestern University. “The kids selling drugs on the streets are driven by the fact that they have no skills and no access to jobs that pay half as much money” as drugs.

But why now? Why, to be specific, did the rate of violent crime nationwide rise by 19 percent between 1985 and 1989? The creation of a nationwide black market for crack and other illicit drugs may be one reason. But a better explanation, says University of Pennsylvania criminologist Marvin Wolfgang, lies in cyclical variations of the national birthrate. Violent crime rises when there is an unusually high number of males between the ages of 15 and 24 in the overall population. That happens to be the case right now—and Wolfgang, who is well known among criminologists for his demo-

graphic interpretation of U.S. crime cycles, has long predicted that the second wave, or “echo,” of the postwar baby boom would inevitably produce an upsurge in violent crime in 1989. As long ago as the 1960s, he says, he and his associates “looked at all kinds of variables—unemployment rates, ratios of police to population, economic factors—and the one that correlated most with crime rates was the fertility rate. That fact alone explains our major increases and decreases in crimes of violence. As for our 1989 prediction, I’d say we were largely correct.”

Cops and criminologists are increasingly convinced, meanwhile, that traditional law-enforcement techniques are reaching the point of diminishing returns: in the war against crime, there are no silver bullets and no smart bombs. As a result, bringing the crime rate down significantly may take years, and it will surely require the expenditure of considerably more taxpayer dollars. If it cost \$50 billion to win a six-week war in the Persian Gulf, some ask, how can Americans expect to win the nationwide battle against crime on a combined federal, state and local budget of only about \$61 billion a year? But dollar questions aside, there is broad consensus on improved strategies for the crime war:

■ **Closing the gap.** “Community policing” is the new buzzword of progressive law enforcement. It is an attempt to take police officers out of roving patrols and put them back on neighborhood beats, where they can get to know the community and its problems. It works, or seems to work, where it has been tried, and some 360 local departments around the country are now experimenting with it. But experts like Robert Trojanowicz of Michigan State University say the future of community policing is very much in doubt. Among other problems, he says, cops and civic leaders in some cities have failed to understand that re-establishing foot patrols can actually increase emergency response time through the 911 system. Community policing, in short, is a long-term crime-prevention strategy, not a Band-Aid tactic. “It’s not there to humor the patient,” Trojanowicz says. “It’s there to cure the disease.”

■ **Targeting hot spots.** Half of all urban crimes occur in about 3 percent of a city’s patrol points.



OMAR BRADLEY—PICTURE GROUP

Cohesive communities: Boston cops lend a helping hand

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MARK REINSTEIN—PHOTOREPORTERS

The leading cause of death for young black males: Shooting victim in Washington, D.C.

Crime rates rise significantly in areas where street lights and windows are broken, where streets and vacant lots are strewn with refuse and where graffiti artists prevail. The moral: clean it up—and target troubled neighborhoods with long-term, massive commitments of community-oriented policing.

■ **Spending more on courts.** The ideal of swift and certain punishment is hopelessly bogged down in the overloaded judicial system: in New York City, for example, criminal-court judges are forced to dispose of each arrest and summons case in something like four minutes flat. Only a few states have begun to look at judges, prosecutors and public defenders as equally critical players in a complex system, and there are no comprehensive national statistics on state and local caseloads. Meanwhile, Congress and the Bush administration have approved \$1.4 million in new spending for judges and prosecutors, but only \$150,000 for public defenders—and that, in the view of one expert, is “just crazy.”

■ **Punishing smarter.** The tremendous increase in the number of convicted felons, coupled with the trend toward longer sentences, is creating a nationwide crisis in corrections. New prisons are filled as quickly as they are built, and overcrowding is still the norm. That leads many corrections experts to recommend so-called intermediate sanctions, such as “boot camps,” halfway houses and electronically monitored house arrests, as substitutes for prison for some offenders. But what is pris-

on for? Few still believe that prisons rehabilitate—and some experts are deeply skeptical that incarceration has much deterrent value, either. The sheer numbers of convicted felons who will eventually return to the street, stigmatized and unreformed, can meanwhile be seen as a form of social time bomb. Americans, says Mark Moore of Harvard’s Kennedy School of Govern-



NOLA TULLY—SYGMA

A domestic arms race: Confiscated guns

ment, “have to visualize many of the people who commit crimes not as our intractable enemies, but as people who can be recruited back into the mainstream.” That means more probation workers to give inmates supervision—and higher costs, of course.

■ **Getting rid of the guns.** OK, the Second Amendment to the U.S. Constitution protects each and every American citizen’s right to own and bear arms. And OK, there are some 150 million guns, including as many as 40 million handguns, already in private hands. There is still a case to be made for more effective gun control, and this is it: an estimated 60 percent of last year’s 23,200 homicides involved the use of firearms, and handgun murders jumped 18 percent between 1985 and 1989. There is no longer any serious question that the relentless spread of firearms of all types—the domestic arms race—is contributing to the homicide rate. The Brady Bill,

which would require a seven-day waiting period for the purchase of any handgun, is a reasonable place to start; March 30 is the 10th anniversary of the day Jim Brady was shot in the head during John Hinckley’s attempt to assassinate Ronald Reagan. The bill, which lost by 24 votes in the House in 1988, may have a chance this year despite the National Rifle Association’s implacable opposition. “The leaders of the NRA are out of touch,” says Rep. Les AuCoin of Oregon, who has decided to break with the organization after 16 years of letter-perfect opposition to gun control. “Most of the people I represent are more concerned about gun violence” than the seven-day waiting period, AuCoin said, adding that the NRA has “made its congressional supporters patsies in a game of lethal consequences.”

The real question is who bears the consequences of America’s gun madness and the burden of rising crime. As Secretary Sullivan implied in his speech last week, the homicide rate is an affront to the national conscience: murder is now the leading cause of death among African-American males between the ages of 15 and 24. Couple that statistic to the fact that Americans of color are routinely victimized by violent crime, and the war at home takes on new dimensions: it is a crucial measure of social justice and the essence of the social contract as well.

TOM MORGANTHAU with JOHN MCCORMICK in Chicago, BOB COHN in Washington, PETER ANNIN in Houston, LUCILLE BEACHY in New York and bureau reports

Demonizing the Sixties

The GOP's new strategy

Politicians, especially Republicans, like to link their opponents to a villain. But Willie Horton is history and Saddam Hussein soon may be. Where to turn? Running against the media is dicey. Calling your foe "unpatriotic" is unseemly, especially if you skipped military service yourself or voted to sell Saddam grain before he invaded Kuwait. So the GOP has found a new all-purpose enemy: the '60s. Democrats who voted against the president on the gulf war, intoned GOP Sen. Phil Gramm last week, were "lost in the '60s." Other Republicans echoed the line.

It's a political Golden Oldie. The critique is that in a mad, "permissive" decade the nation threw away its will, its discipline, its faith in the family and the military, in moral absolutes and rightful authority. That view, and a strategy of selling it, helped bring conservatism to power and elect Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan and George Bush. Wielding "values wedges" first honed in the 1960s, the GOP sliced middle-class Democrats from their ancient New Deal moorings. "The Republicans have made these values wedges their stock in trade," said Democratic polltaker Geof-



WALLY McNAMEE—NEWSWEEK

Attacking an 'aberrant party': Gingrich

frey Garin. "The 1960s were a time when traditional values lost their dominance in American life, and that's the image they're trying to emphasize."

Operation Desert Storm, Republicans think, could be the ultimate anti-'60s values wedge. Americans were shown an admirable vision of themselves that obliterated ghosts of the '60s, Vietnam and doubts that followed. They saw avuncular, Ike-like generals, can-do troops eager for orders, and total technological superiority. The flower children, Republicans chortled, were relegated to the middle rows of press seats in the Pentagon briefing room.

In the new anti-'60s strategy, Desert

Storm is more than a military triumph. It is a victory for the very notion of authority. The Democrats' hesitancy to authorize the war, Republicans charge, is evidence of a deeper reluctance to impose standards of conduct, by force if needed. The GOP now tries to press the point with the crime issue. Bush delivered his first postwar domestic-policy speech to a gathering of 650 law-enforcement officials. The topic: his crime bill and its death-penalty provisions. Bush and his generals supposedly embody a renewal of authority: the war, in one sense, is a lost episode of "Father Knows Best." "This is the first time since Eisenhower that an authority figure has successfully imposed his will," says GOP Rep. Newt Gingrich.

The GOP attack coincides with a new cultural re-examination of the '60s—much of it negative. In the movie "The Doors," director Oliver Stone depicts the grandeur, but also the devastation, of the era's rock-band life. Critics of America's elite universities dwell on the damage that politically correct professors, many of them '60s-era survivors, allegedly have done to scholarship and to reverence for the Great Works. Baby boomers, as they rear children, show a new respect for traditional religion. "The whole country increasingly is repudiating the '60s as an experience," Gingrich insists. "The Democrats are becoming an aberrant party."

Risking a backlash: Polls show that Americans agree with some of the GOP's historical analysis, a fact Democrats ignore at their peril. But the Republican strategy could prove to be dangerous, for both the GOP and the nation. The triumphant talk of an "aberrant" opposing party smacks of self-satisfied gloating—or worse, of an ayatollah-like intolerance. Americans have embraced, not repudiated, the Sixties' insistence on social tolerance and private freedoms. The GOP risks its political gains if it denies that part of the decade's legacy.

Bush risks a backlash—and misses a historic opportunity—if he doesn't use his enhanced authority for other tasks of American renewal. If he can move beyond the politics that helped elect him, he could redeem another broken promise of the '60s: Richard Nixon's 1968 campaign pledge to "Bring Us Together." The Bush administration took a step in that direction last week, ordering a national investigation of police brutality. It was a very '60s thing to do.

HOWARD FINEMAN in Washington

A Star's Crash-Landing

As the only challenger to beat an incumbent senator, Paul Wellstone had star status. The Minnesota Democrat's maiden speech on the Senate floor—opposing the early use of force in the gulf—made all the network news shows. But when the war ended, Wellstone's star crash-landed. In Minnesota, his approval ratings flip-flopped, and only 25 percent of those polled said he deserved to be re-elected in 1996. When he returned home for his mother's funeral, he discovered that pro-war demonstrators were chanting "Wimp Wellstone." He has received phone calls at home threatening his health and safety. "It's

been awful, awful," he told NEWSWEEK. "And when I say awful, I mean that I found myself starting to worry about what I say because of these threats."

As a child of the '60s, with roots in the antiwar movement, Wellstone, 46, is accustomed to being pilloried for his views. A former political-science professor at Carleton College, he is determined not to let the tyranny of the majority silence him now. "I won't be credible to myself if I just go with the wind of the current climate," he says. He makes no apology for opposing the gulf war and insists that he welcomes the GOP challenge to hold Democrats

"accountable" for preferring sanctions to force. But he believes that the accounting should go beyond the quick military fix to assess the war's longer-term impact. Still, if Wellstone's early reviews are any indication, Desert Storm may claim its share of casualties at home.



LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

Threatening calls: Wellstone

'This Is Just the Beginning'

Protests in Serbia may transform Yugoslavia's largest republic—and shatter the country

The casualty toll was high—two dead and scores wounded—but as students in Belgrade ended five days of street demonstrations last week, they were jubilant. Singing "Give Peace a Chance" and "Age of Aquarius," they savored their triumph. Confronted by the massive protests, Slobodan Milosevic—the Communist president of Serbia, Yugoslavia's largest republic—acceded to most of the student demands. The Serbian authorities released nearly all the opposition leaders and students who were arrested during the demonstrations, fired media officials responsible for slanting the news and made the interior minister offer his resignation. "The next step must be more freedom, up till the final victory of democracy in Serbia," proclaimed opposition leader Vuk Draskovic after he was released from prison. "This is just the beginning."

But the question was whether this was the beginning of Serbia's transformation or of a crackdown that could trigger the collapse of the entire wobbly construction known as Yugoslavia. Although the end of the cold war eliminated the country's role as the critical swing state between East and West, Yugoslavia's disintegration would still send shock waves across the region. It shares borders with seven countries, and a further unraveling could tempt its neighbors to revive old territorial claims.

In the Yugoslav federal Presidency, a collective body of the country's six republics and two provinces, the Serbs backed a bid by the Army for emergency powers. The measure failed. After the Army was rebuffed a second time last week, Borisav Jovic, a Serb who chaired the collective Presidency, resigned, warning that the country may be headed for civil war. Other members who had lost in the voting followed suit. With his allies defeated, Milosevic went on TV to declare that Serbia would no longer recognize decisions by a body that was "practically dead." "The destruction of Yugoslavia has entered its final agonizing stage," he declared.

The Serbian leader also announced the mobilization of Interior Ministry reserve

units, allegedly to prevent unrest in Kosovo, a predominantly Albanian province in Serbia. To Serbia's north, Croatia placed its police and militia units on full alert. But Milosevic claimed he was not introducing emergency measures. And the members of the collective Presidency who had blocked such a move portrayed the resignations as the communist hard-liners' last hurrah; they vowed to continue with reforms aimed at defusing the Yugoslav crisis.

While noncommunist governments have taken power in four of the five other Yugoslav republics, Serbia has remained one of Eastern Europe's last bastions of communist rule. By wrapping himself in the cloak of Serbian nationalism and fomenting ethnic unrest, Milosevic took over the Serbian leadership in 1987 and swept to an easy victory in the republic's first multiparty elections last December. But since then his government's policies have only exacerbated Yugoslavia's economic and political woes, producing escalating ethnic tensions and rising secessionist sentiment in Croatia and Slovenia. According to Dragoljub Mincunovic, the leader of the opposition Democratic Party, Milosevic's tactics contributed to the impression "that Yugoslavia is a ship full of holes and everyone is rushing to jump out, sometimes even forgetting to take their life preservers."

Army tanks: The immediate spark for the protests was the inflammatory reporting of Serbia's state-controlled media about alleged massacres of Serbs living in Pakrac in neighboring Croatia. No massacres had taken place, and opposition parties organized a rally to demand the resignations of top media officials. The police responded with tear gas, water cannons and gunfire, and the Yugoslav Army sent tanks and armored vehicles. Milosevic charged that "enemies of Serbia" were seeking to desta-



DUSHKO DESPOTOVIC—SYGMA

bilize the republic, but he miscalculated: the severity of the crackdown outraged the students. Opposition activists also charged that police continued to beat protesters even after they were detained.

While denying any wrongdoing, the government agreed to investigate the violence. But the pressure against Milosevic kept growing. Even some members of the previously docile Serbian Writers Union called for his resignation. Serbia's mounting economic problems—rising unemployment and the recent failure of numerous fac-



THIERRY CHESNOT—SIPA

Keeping the authorities under pressure: *Five days of anticommunist demonstrations in the streets of Belgrade resulted in two deaths, but also in the release of jailed opposition leaders and the resignation of the head of Yugoslavia's government*



DUSHKO DESPOTOVIC—SYGMA

tories to pay their workers—have also convinced many Serbs that Milosevic is using nationalist issues as a smoke screen. "Politicians are talking about nationalism because they don't want to talk about the economic crisis," said Zoran Kelic, a Belgrade high-school student.

The opposition was divided over how hard to push. The Democratic Party's Micunovic argued that it was premature to seek the downfall of Serbia's government. Draskovic, of the more militant Serbian Renewal Movement, pledged street protests this week. He also charged that Micunovic had extended a "helping hand" to the Serbian leadership. "It's quite incredible that he is renouncing the trump card of popular pressure and insists on popular debate where the opposition practically does not exist," he declared.

Best case: At 44, Draskovic is a bearded best-selling novelist who relishes his new prominence. A leader of the 1968 student protests and later a Communist Party member for 10 years, he at first tried to cast himself as even more of a fervent Serbian nationalist than Milosevic. But in the current conflict, he has emphasized that his primary goal is the destruction of the communist system. "Communism has crumbled everywhere in Yugoslavia and it is now a question of national honor that it does not survive here," he says.

The victory of the Belgrade protesters was largely applauded elsewhere in Yugoslavia. Despite their nationalistic leanings, Draskovic and other Serbian opposition leaders claim that they would seek to defuse Yugoslavia's ethnic tensions through negotiations with the other republics. While committed to preserving Yugoslavia's statehood, opposition leaders appear to be more open than Milosevic to contemplating the kind of loose confederal arrangement Croatia and Slovenia are demanding as a price for not pushing for outright secession. "I don't see federation and confederation as necessarily in conflict," says the Democratic Party's Micunovic, who insists that the central authority should be willing to cede control of everything but monetary, foreign and defense policies to the republics.

But if the democratization of Serbia represents the best-case scenario for Yugoslavia as a whole, the worst-case is not hard to imagine. Seizing on new unrest as a pretext, Milosevic could still resort to strong-arm methods, prompting fears of a push for Serbian domination throughout the country. That could vindicate the glum assessment of a recent CIA study which predicted the probable breakup of Yugoslavia within 18 months and a possible civil war. Yugoslavia's fate may be decided not by battles between Serbs and other nationalities but by the contest pitting Serb against Serb.

ANDREW NAGORSKI in Belgrade



Confidants: President Bush and the British prime minister confer in Bermuda AP

Basking in the Gulf Glow

Britain's John Major steps out of the shadows

What the Falklands Factor once did for Margaret Thatcher, the Gulf Glow is now doing for John Major. When he succeeded Thatcher as prime minister last November, Major was scarcely known outside British Conservative Party circles. He seemed a pleasant but rather dull man in a gray suit. Victory over Iraq brought him into his own. Major was the first Western leader to visit liberated Kuwait—and has emerged as an increasingly close confidant of President Bush, with whom he spent two and a half hours in Bermuda last week, mapping the allies' postwar strategy for the gulf. On his home island, Major's political stock is just as high: polls show he is one of Britain's most popular prime ministers of the last 30 years. "He handled the war calmly, in a situation where Mrs. Thatcher would have been expected to go OTT—over the top," said Robert M. Worcester, chairman of the MORI polling organization. "The British look good to the British."

Once regarded as a Thatcher puppet, Major is stepping out of her shadow at home, too. Last week Major moved to do away with two of the holiest, but most controversial, tenets of Thatcherism: nationalistic resistance to European integration, and a poll tax instituted just under a year ago in England and Wales. The poll tax, a per capita system of local taxation that replaced property taxes, obliges poor people to pay the same rate as the rich. Thatcher pushed the measure through over the

opposition of her key ministers—not so much to simplify taxation as to curb the powers of local government councils controlled by the Labor Party. The measure touched off riots when it was passed, sharply eroded Thatcher's popularity and, more than anything else, convinced her fellow Tories that the time had come to dump her.

Major's apparent decision to do away with the tax was prompted by a parliamentary by-election in which a previously safe Tory seat went to an opposition Liberal Democrat who ran an antitax campaign. Asked recently if he would describe himself as a Thatcherite, Major replied: "I never describe myself as anything. People must make up their own minds." "What Major is really about is paradoxical," says David Marquand, professor of politics at England's Salford University. "It's late Thatcherism, minus the flagrantly unpopular things." Mrs. Thatcher herself is reportedly uneasy about her protégé's independence. She has carefully refrained from publicly criticizing him—but she did say two weeks ago that it would be "a jolly good thing" if she could be "the matriarch" of the Conservative Party, a prospect that can hardly seem jolly to Major.

Many Britons find Major's cheerful, friendly style a refreshing change from 13 years of the combative, hectoring Thatcher. His detached calm in the face of an IRA mortar attack on 10 Downing Street in January showed him to be cool under fire. During the gulf war he deftly held together

a consensus that cut across party lines whenever the conduct of the war came up in the House of Commons. Cabinet meetings now last an average of 15 minutes longer than they did under Thatcher; Major's allies say that, unlike his predecessor, he actually takes the time to ask the ministers what they think about the issues of the day. Polls show that while 63 percent of Britons believed Thatcher to be out of touch with ordinary people, only 13 percent of them feel that way about Major, who comes from a working-class background. And while 56 percent thought that Thatcher talked down to people, only 6 percent consider Major to be guilty of that particular sin.

'A certain dignity': Major has made good use of his common touch. In Kuwait City two weeks ago he sat atop a dusty British tank and mingled with infantrymen. He casually examined an AK-47 assault rifle captured from the Iraqis and, to the guffaws of British soldiers gathered around him, joked that he might find the weapon useful during cabinet meetings back in London. "Major is playing a role which is very English," says Marquand. "He's a master of laconic understatement. That's not the same as being gray. He also can laugh at himself a little bit, and yet he has a certain dignity."

Major also gets along better than Thatcher did with European leaders. Even in her warmest moments, the Iron Lady was cool toward Germany and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl—whom she saw as the chief instigator of European unity. But Major's summit with Kohl two weeks ago in Bonn ended with Major crediting European economic unity for holding down British inflation, and declaring Britain's desire to remain "at the very heart of Europe." Major and Kohl reportedly already enjoy good personal chemistry. "He's 'Helmut' to him," says one Downing Street source, "and the prime minister is John." Among ordinary Britons, Major's softer stance toward Europe also appears to be playing well. Says political columnist Peter Jenkins: "Europe became damaging in the public eye when Mrs. Thatcher seemed to be picking quarrels all the time. The substance on Europe hasn't changed all that much, but the tone has. Major's rapprochement with Kohl is a sign of this." Major must run for prime minister in his own right no later than June 1992. If the Tories do well in local elections set for early May, the odds seem good that he might call a ballot a year early—while the memory of his wartime leadership is still fresh. Asked recently when the election might be held, Major quipped: "When I think I'll win it." For Britain's increasingly popular new P.M., that could be any time he pleases.

ANGUS DEMING with DANIEL PEDERSEN
in London

Have Rebels, Will Travel

Nobody wants the CIA's Libyan commandos

Early one night last month, two U.S. Air Force C-141 Starlifter cargo planes landed at Nairobi's Jomo Kenyatta International Airport and taxied to a spot well removed from the main terminal. The huge planes had just flown across Africa from Lubumbashi, a remote town in south-



P. BRIAND—AFP

se in N'Djamena

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and criticism in Con-
an-rights record, Mo-
agents access to the
lt of either threat or
250 Libyans returned
the safety of the re-
s, U.S. officials airlift-

Kenya agreed to provide
for the Libyans. Wash-
announced that it was
n in military aid that
cause of human-rights
ment of Kenyan Presi-
oi. U.S. officials insisted
e restoration of aid to
was not simply a reward
ing the Libyans. They
out that Kenya had
diomatic support during
f crisis and had taken
steps to liberalize its in-
ternal politics, as well.

The question remained: what
to do with the CIA's would-be
commandos? Their location is a
closely guarded secret, though
they are behind barbed wire
and under the protection of
Kenyan armed forces. Appar-
ently they are in reasonably
good spirits. They pass the time
playing soccer and wondering
which country will eventually
grant them permanent asylum
from Kaddafi's Libya—a coun-
try they never got a chance to
try to destabilize.

ANGUS DEMING with JANE
WHITMORE in Washington and
TODD SHIELDS in Nairobi

Members of El Salvador's
right-wing ruling party
marched into elections last
week singing their anthem.
"El Salvador," they bellowed,
"will be the tomb for the
Reds." The country's political
left, however, proved it is nei-
ther entirely Red nor dead:
after armed rebels renounced
Marxism, a leftist coalition
known as the Democratic
Convergence won at least
15 percent of the vote in
last week's parliamentary
election, according to projec-
tions. The poll returns sur-
prised the Republican Na-

of President Alfredo Cris-
tiani, giving the left its
first seats in the National As-
sembly since civil war began
in 1979—and improving the
prospects for a negotiated
end to the conflict.

There was bad news, too.
Election monitors from the
Organization of American
States said that there had
been "problems and irregu-
larities" in the voting process.
The rebels of the Farabundo
Martí National Liberation
Front (FMLN) have kept up
the offensive fighting they

ing 20 dead in the weeks be-
fore their surprising election-
time cease-fire. And the
Army itself took advantage of
the lull by making several
raids into FMLN territory.

One U.S. official suggested
that the recent fighting was a
last effort to establish bar-
gaining positions. "The im-
pression that El Salvador is a
solvable problem suddenly
sank in this week on both
sides," said the official. "So
the pressure at the negotiat-
ing table has never been
greater."



Confidants: President

Basking

Britain's Job

What the Falklands for Margaret. Glow is now d. When he succeeded minister last November known outside British circles. He seemed a dull man in a gray suit brought him into his first Western leader to wait—and has emerged close confidant of Prime Minister whom he spent two weeks in Bermuda last week, postwar strategy for the island, Major's political high: polls show he is a popular prime ministers of the last 30 years. "He handled the war calmly, in a situation where Mrs. Thatcher would have been expected to go OTT—over the top," said Robert M. Worcester, chairman of the MORI polling organization. "The British look good to the British."

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'A certain dignity': Major has made good use of his common touch. In Kuwait City two

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Have Rebels, Will Travel

Nobody wants the CIA's Libyan commandos

Early one night last month, two U.S. Air Force C-141 Starlifter cargo planes landed at Nairobi's Jomo Kenyatta International Airport and taxied to a spot well removed from the main terminal. The huge planes had just flown across Africa from Lubumbashi, a remote town in southern Zaire. Scarcely noticed in the darkness, a fleet of buses gathered up 354 Libyan soldiers who filed off the planes—all former prisoners of war who had been captured in Chad. Then the mysterious motorcade sped from the airport to a secret destination somewhere in Kenya.

Thus began the latest chapter in the strange tale of a CIA plan to train a force of Libyan commandos for covert operations in Libya. The story began sometime in the late 1980s, when French- and U.S.-backed troops loyal to Chad's President Hissène Habré beat back an armed incursion by Libya's Muammar Kaddafi. Habré's forces captured hundreds of Libyan soldiers in northern Chad, including a large number of officers. It was a time when Washington still considered Kaddafi—not Saddam Hussein—to be public enemy No. 1. Sometime in either the waning days of the Reagan administration or the beginning of the Bush administration, U.S. officials de-



P. BRIAND—AFP

The Chad chapter in a strange tale: Libyan POWs after their release in N'Djamena

vised a plan to recruit disgruntled Libyan POWs, train them as commandos and send them back into Libya in an attempt to overthrow Kaddafi.

Last December Idris Deby, a Chadian insurgent supported by Kaddafi, launched an attack from a rebel base in Sudan and overthrew Habré. The CIA's commandos suddenly found themselves unwelcome in N'Djamena, Chad's war-torn capital. Their African odyssey began. First, U.S. planes airlifted the Libyans to Nigeria. They were not wanted there, either. A day later they flew to Zaire, where they were interned at a camp near Lubumbashi, close to the Zaire-Angola border. But President Mobutu Sese Seko—normally a staunch friend—proved

less cooperative than U.S. officials had anticipated. Apparently stung by cutbacks in U.S. aid and criticism in Congress over his human-rights record, Mobutu allowed Libyan agents access to the exiles. As the result of either threat or inducement, some 250 Libyans returned home. Fearing for the safety of the remaining commandos, U.S. officials airlifted them to Kenya.

As it turned out, Kenya agreed to provide a temporary haven for the Libyans. Washington thereupon announced that it was restoring \$5 million in military aid that had been frozen because of human-rights abuses by the government of Kenyan President Daniel arap Moi. U.S. officials insisted that the restoration of aid to Kenya was not simply a reward for hosting the Libyans. They pointed out that Kenya had lent diplomatic support during the gulf crisis and had taken small steps to liberalize its internal politics, as well.

The question remained: what to do with the CIA's would-be commandos? Their location is a closely guarded secret, though they are behind barbed wire and under the protection of Kenyan armed forces. Apparently they are in reasonably good spirits. They pass the time playing soccer and wondering which country will eventually grant them permanent asylum from Kaddafi's Libya—a country they never got a chance to try to destabilize.

ANGUS DEMING with JANE WHITMORE in Washington and TODD SHIELDS in Nairobi

At Last, Hope for Peace in El Salvador

Members of El Salvador's right-wing ruling party marched into elections last week singing their anthem. "El Salvador," they bellowed, "will be the tomb for the Reds." The country's political left, however, proved it is neither entirely Red nor dead: after armed rebels renounced Marxism, a leftist coalition known as the Democratic Convergence won at least 15 percent of the vote in last week's parliamentary election, according to projections. The poll returns surprised the Republican Na-

tionalist Alliance (ARENA) of President Alfredo Cristiani, giving the left its first seats in the National Assembly since civil war began in 1979—and improving the prospects for a negotiated end to the conflict.

There was bad news, too. Election monitors from the Organization of American States said that there had been "problems and irregularities" in the voting process. The rebels of the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) have kept up the offensive fighting they

started last November, leaving 20 dead in the weeks before their surprising election-time cease-fire. And the Army itself took advantage of the lull by making several raids into FMLN territory.

One U.S. official suggested that the recent fighting was a last effort to establish bargaining positions. "The impression that El Salvador is a solvable problem suddenly sank in this week on both sides," said the official. "So the pressure at the negotiating table has never been greater."

Is an Insurance Crisis Next?

Maybe not, but a growing number of firms are either ailing or in danger of going under

Texas Gov. Ann Richards isn't known as a diplomat. But her comments after visiting the state insurance board last Thursday were positively incendiary. "There are going to be insurance companies that fail in the state of Texas," she warned. "And they are going to fail this year, and they're going to fail next year, and there is not one single thing in the world that I can do about it."

Is it really that bad? Plenty of insurers are in fine condition, and no one is advising consumers to cancel their policies. But after months of bad news, even the experts are worried about the overall health of the insurance industry. "It's a real problem," says former Massachusetts insurance commissioner Peter Hiam. "Most of the companies are not in a position to ride out a severe or long-lasting recession." And while most of the troubled insurers in Texas are tiny, elsewhere in the country some big names are involved. "It's not just the small regional companies," contends Barbara Stewart, an industry consultant. "It's large national

and international companies that could have problems."

The "insurance industry" is actually two very different industries. Many life and health insurers have bet heavily on real-estate mortgages, junk bonds and other assets that have fallen in value or gone into default. For those insurers, future costs are very predictable, but the strength of their assets is in question. Property and casualty insurers, which handle everything from standard homeowners' insurance to custom-designed policies on pitchers' arms, generally have much sounder investment portfolios. Their problem is pricing: many of them sold policies too cheaply and don't have enough reserves set aside to cover losses that may not be known for years.

Last year, 41 "multistate" insurers bit the dust, down slightly from 1989 but far more than in any other recent year. The worst is probably yet to come, since insolvencies traditionally lag behind the economy. Although the recession is likely to end in the summer, the full extent of the industry's ills may not be apparent for another year or more. So far this year, Standard & Poor's, the financial-rating service, has downgraded 20 insurers and related entities—and upgraded none. No wonder experts, painfully aware of the mounting bill for bank failures and the costly collapse of the savings and loan industry, worry if an insurance crisis is next.

The comparison is exaggerated. Unlike the thrifts, the insurance industry as a whole is profitable and has plenty of capital to back its promises. Unlike banks, insurers have not lost core businesses to new competitors, and their obligations are far enough in the future that many currently troubled investments may yet pay off. The concern is whether companies will be able to pay

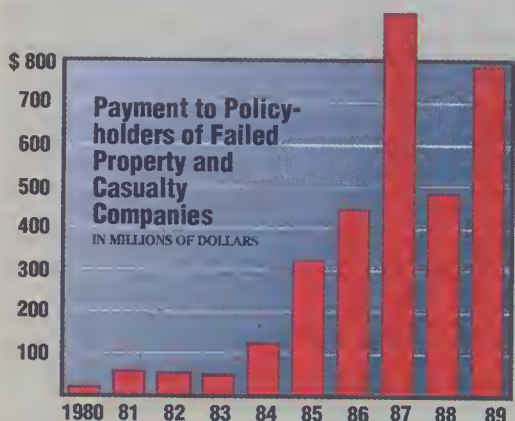
claims that may be filed in years to come, not whether they can pay claims today. Says one nervous New York money manager: "It's more than a long-term problem, but it's not an imminent problem."

Nonetheless, many large insurers are ailing. Equitable Life Assurance Society, the nation's third biggest life insurer, saw its capital fall by \$371 million last year, due largely to problems with its junk-bond and real-estate portfolios. (Last week the company tentatively settled a nasty dispute with Manufacturers Hanover Trust Co. over a soured real-estate investment in New York.) Travelers Corp. added \$650 million to its reserves to cover expected losses on real estate. USF&G Corp. reported a \$569 million loss for the year. Monarch Capital Corp., a Massachusetts insurance holding company weighted down by real estate, defaulted on \$235 million worth of loans.



A Mounting Tab

As more and more insurers become insolvent, guarantee funds are tapped to settle claims.



SOURCE: NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF INSURANCE GUARANTEE FUNDS

SOTOODEH NEWSWEEK



ILLUSTRATION BY GREG CLARKE

The companies are responding with drastic measures. Equitable wants to convert from a mutual company, owned by policyholders, to a stockholder-owned company—and raise \$1 billion of capital in the process. Travelers has been downsizing its property-casualty business and focusing on corporate health-care programs. USF&G dropped much of its business in Texas and slashed its dividend by 93 percent. Monarch Capital may give its bankers ownership of its insurer, Monarch Life Insurance Co., in return for debt forgiveness.

Analysts judge that all these companies have the resources to weather even a lengthy storm. "While they may have their problems, I don't see that they're imminent candidates for failure," says Gloria Vogel of the Wall Street firm Bear, Stearns. Others are less sanguine. Says Harry Fong, research director of Conning & Co., a Hart-

ford investment bank, "One thing that never ceases to amaze me is how a company that appears to be solvent turns out to be not so in a very short period of time."

Determining the health of an insurance company is hard even for experts. Projecting, say, how many product-liability claims will be filed concerning Nissan Sentras made in 1990 is sheer guesswork. And many of the assets that are supposed to pay those claims, including real estate and mortgages, are valued at whatever the insurer paid for them, not what they would be worth if put on the market today. Most insurers are required to keep separate sets of books for insurance regulators and investors, and it is entirely possible to show profits on one while suffering losses on the other. "Most accounting is done with mirrors," says Joanne Morrissey, president of Firemark Insurance Research. "In-

surance accounting is done with prisms."

Deciding when an insurer is insolvent, then, is not such a simple matter. Take the case of Los Angeles-based First Executive Corp., which owns two large and troubled life insurers. First Executive units invested heavily in junk bonds; if they had been forced to value the junk at market prices, the insurers would have been insolvent a year ago, according to one analyst. But because current income was adequate to pay claims, regulators let them keep going under close supervision. "If the junk-bond market turned around and defaults went down to a manageable level, that company would probably be profitable in a very short period of time," says Terence Lennon, chief examiner of the New York Insurance Department. First Executive says that with a 14 percent rise in junk-bond prices since Jan. 1, things are looking up. A.M. Best Co., which rates the soundness of insurance companies, disagrees: This month it lowered the insurance units' ratings two notches.

For policyholders, an insurance company's failure need not be serious. Every state has a guarantee fund to cover claims against insolvent property and casualty companies, and 47 states have similar funds covering life insurance. "Fund," however, is a misleading description: there is no pool of money, only an obligation for

insurers to contribute in future years to cover the obligations of those that failed. Those payments have risen sharply (chart), and there is a limit on the amount insurers may be forced to kick in annually—meaning that some claimants may have to wait in line. In addition, most funds guarantee only \$300,000 per claim.

Tax credits: The funds got a scare last year when AmBase Corp., owner of Home Insurance Co., a major property insurer, ran into financial trouble. The company finally sold Home Insurance last month. "Home is such a large company that had they gone bust, many of the states would not have had enough in the till to satisfy the remaining claims," says Fong. That would have put a crimp in government budgets, too. Jack Nelson and James Barrese of New York's College of Insurance say that tax deductions mean that the federal government

bears about 34 percent of the cost of guarantee-fund contributions, and in many states insurers also receive tax credits.

Can a crisis be avoided? That depends largely on state insurance commissioners, who have sole responsibility for overseeing the industry. Under prodding from Rep. John Dingell, whose probes of several recent insolvencies have pointed to embarrassing lapses in regulation, the states have belatedly cracked down, tightening accounting standards, demanding that insurers put up more capital and even trying to get a handle on the property and casualty industry's weak spot, reinsurance, nearly 40 percent of which is provided by unlicensed foreign companies.

But each state generally regulates only

local companies, accepting the judgments of other states about their firms. That amounts to a major hole in the regulatory net, because regulation in some states is decidedly lax. Louisiana's insurance commissioner, Doug Green, was convicted last week in federal court for doing favors for an insurer that subsequently failed. In Arizona, you can start a life-insurance company with a paltry \$450,000 stake. In Texas, which leads the nation in insolvencies, officers and directors of insurance companies are subject to background checks but controlling stockholders are not. Says insurance commissioner Philip Barnes, "I'm convinced that the more astute people who want to avoid regulation can do it."

In the end, the combination of tighter

regulation and lower interest rates should help most insurers pull through. But in the process, many of the nation's 4,600-plus life insurers and property companies may be squeezed out of business. "We're going to see more and more companies needing outside help and more and more mergers," says Joanne Morrissey. As in any other type of business, poor performance will inevitably lead to a shakeout. Predicts former New York insurance superintendent James Corcoran, "What it's going to result in is not a lot of insolvency, but smaller companies and higher prices." That may be good in the long run—but the short run promises to be rocky.

MARC LEVINSON with LOURDES ROSADO
in New York

Rise and Fall of an Insurance High Roller

Some people like to fix up old cars. James Fail liked to buy troubled insurance companies and turn them around. A onetime Merrill Lynch employee, Fail bought his first in 1970, in Birmingham, Ala., and made it profitable. He followed that with a string of other insurance companies—some faltering, others healthy—and built them into a mazelike organization. He ran into trouble in 1976 when Alabama authorities accused him of securities fraud in shifting assets between two companies. He agreed not to do business anymore in Alabama, and the charges were dropped. But that case didn't slow him down. Although aware of his problems, regulators later approved Fail's purchase of insurance companies in Indiana, Arizona, Texas, Maryland and elsewhere.

Today Fail's insurance empire is in tatters. Many of his companies are operating under state supervision, their assets depleted by bad real-estate deals, the crash of junk bonds and high-risk ventures gone sour. In part, Fail's rise and fall underscore weaknesses in the system, such as the ability of insurance companies to move assets among affiliates and lax oversight by state authorities. Some state watchdogs seemingly turned



JOHN FICARA—NEWSWEEK

An empire built on failures: Fail testifying before Congress

a blind eye to Fail's history of regulatory problems.

Fail, 64, would have remained relatively anonymous except for the now notorious Bluebonnet Savings controversy. In what has been called one of the sweetest deals in the savings and loan bailout, he bought 15 insolvent Southwest savings and loan institutions in 1988 that gave him a whopping \$1.8 billion in federal subsidies. He needed \$70 million to complete the deal, so he turned for half of it to one of his insurance companies, Mutual Security Life Insurance Co., in Indiana. Fail had bought Mutual Security in September 1988, through his holding

company, Lifeshares Group Inc. Just three months later Fail had Mutual Security lend \$35 million to Bluebonnet for the purchase. Fail didn't notify Indiana as required that he was making the loan, regulators said, and by lending the money he seriously depleted Mutual Security of cash to pay off policyholders.

Indiana placed Mutual Security under close supervision last year and will try to sell off blocks of the company this summer. Regulators say Mutual Security, which does business in 46 states, now has a negative net worth of \$20 million. Bluebonnet is considered one of the most profit-

able S&Ls in the nation, although two weeks ago the government moved to cancel certain S&L tax write-offs.

Regulators worry that Fail might try to shuffle more assets. Maryland put Fail's Chesapeake Life Insurance Co. under a court freeze order last year hours after Arizona had placed another Fail company, Farm and Home Life Insurance Co., under state supervision. Authorities worked out a system in which Chesapeake informs Charles Siegel, Maryland's associate insurance commissioner, by fax each evening of all transactions. "It is a sound company with no problems at all and we want it to stay that way," says Siegel.

Risky products: Fail insists his problems are no different from those of other insurance companies—sagging real-estate and investments. Assertions about him, he has said, have been "based on misinformation and distortions of fact." The \$35 million loan to Bluebonnet complied with all state and federal regulations, he says. In the old days, Fail adds, insurance departments were "more inclined to work out problems" rather than turn them over for liquidation. But as insurance companies offer riskier products and make riskier investments, those old days are ending.

LARRY REIBSTEIN with
RICH THOMAS in Washington
and JOHN TALIAFERRO
in Los Angeles

A Press Lord's Tattered Prize

Britain's Maxwell gambles on the Daily News

In Britain they call him The Bouncing Czech: an immigrant billionaire famed for his flamboyant style and global buying sprees. When he swept into Manhattan from London two weeks ago, pink-tied and ruddy-faced, he turned heads on the streets. "That's Robert Maxwell," said one pedestrian in front of the press lord's midtown headquarters. "He's the one with all the money." Five sleepless days later, Maxwell reached agreements with 10 unions of the strike-battered New York Daily News that allowed him to assume control of the paper, and guaranteed its short-term survival. For his troubles, he found himself hailed across New York as an "angel." All this for a merciless negotiator who wrested union givebacks totaling 800 jobs, worth more than \$70 million in concessions.

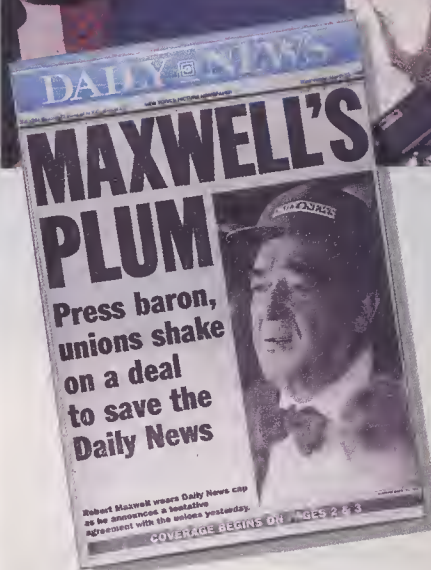
Devil or angel, Maxwell at least represents a fresh start for a newspaper crippled by one of the meanest labor disputes of the decade. Since January, 1990 its owner, the Tribune Co., a Chicago-based media conglomerate, had vowed to break the power of the Daily News's unions. Claiming that the paper had lost \$115 million since 1980, management insisted on wage and manpower cuts that would have slashed operating costs from 50 to 25 percent of revenues. The unions adamantly refused to surrender concessions won during the boom years. The Tribune Co. spent a reported \$20 million preparing for a walkout; as the strike progressed, it mobilized some 800 replacement workers, including reporters.

A critical blow: The Tribune's plan was torpedoed by the breakdown of its newspaper distribution system in New York. The powerful Newspaper and Mail Deliverers Union walked off the job, a critical blow for a paper that depends on newsstand sales for 80 percent of its circulation. Daily News publisher James Hoge charged that threats and violence by the deliverers' union made many of the city's 12,000 newsdealers unwilling to carry the paper. Management resorted to desperation tactics—including recruiting homeless men to sell the paper in the city's subways—but circulation plummeted by close to 50 percent, to about 600,000. Advertisers defected to the News's two tabloid rivals, the New York Post and Newsday. On Jan. 16, with operating losses running at \$700,000 a day, Hoge announced that he would close the paper



ROBERT MAASS FOR NEWSWEEK

Reprieve: Maxwell (above), the paper



in 60 days if a buyer couldn't be found.

Then Maxwell stepped in. Born Ludvik Hoch to an impoverished laborer in eastern Czechoslovakia, the entrepreneur has struggled to escape his lowly roots. He emigrated to Britain in 1940 and changed his name to Ivan du Maurier, after his favorite French cigarette. He won a Military Cross for bravery in World War II, adopted the name Maxwell in 1945 and later founded Pergamon Press, a publishing venture. In the 1960s, he was elected a member of Parliament from the Labor Party, but his political and business careers derailed after Board of Trade inspectors uncovered financial irregularities and declared him "unfit" to run a public company. Maxwell relaunched Pergamon as a private firm, then built a publishing empire, including New York-based Macmillan Publishing and The European, a Continental newspaper. His estimated fortune: \$2 billion.

In Britain, Maxwell has earned a reputation as a fierce negotiator—and a meddler. In 1980 he bought the British Printing Corporation and cut 7,000 of its 13,000 workers. In 1984 he purchased the Daily Mirror, now the flagship of his Mirror Group Newspapers, and sacked 2,000 employees. "He is the most ruthless socialist newspaper publisher in the world," says Tom Bower, who wrote an unauthorized biography, "Maxwell the Outsider." Max-

well's influence rarely ends with labor reshufflings. He fiddles with layouts, editorials and news content, frequently printing stories about himself. "He has no sense of his own limitations," says Hugh Stephenson, journalism professor at London's City University.

Maxwell also is said to view himself as a rival of Rupert Murdoch, former owner of the New York Post; many suggest the competition was his principal motivation in bidding for the Daily News. He stepped into the fray on March 5, agreeing to purchase the News—and assume up to \$125 million in pensions and severance pay—contingent on a payment of \$60 million from the Tribune Co. and an acceptable deal with the unions. Initially, Maxwell was conciliatory: he sat for face-to-face talks with union leaders, unlike Tribune Co. president Charles Brumback, who sent in a confrontational Nashville attorney as his surrogate. He backed away from the Tribune Co.'s insistence on a "management rights" clause, but won tough concessions on jobs. About 800 of the unions' 2,600 positions will be lost. "The unions knew they had no choice," says John Reidy, a media analyst with Smith Barney. "It was bargain with Maxwell or face a shutdown."

Rebuilding the Daily News won't be easy. Analysts say Maxwell will have to invest \$50 million to recapture lost circulation. Ad revenues had plummeted to less than 25 percent of prestrike levels. Analyst John Morton of the brokerage firm Lynch, Jones & Ryan rates the News's chances for recovery "50-50." As Maxwell showed with his London Daily News, a start-up he closed after five months in 1987, he is not likely to allow sentimentality to dictate his financial future. If he can't restore the paper to health in a few months, the Daily News's savior may yet turn into an angel of death.

JOSHUA HAMMER with
JENNIFER FOOTE in London

A Burger Lover's Lament

McDonald's, what's all this about going 'lean'?

Dear Mr. McDonald:

May I call you Ronald? Thanks. You don't know me, but I've got a few questions about your company. They're about this new product that rolled out of Oak Brook last week—you know, the McLean Deluxe burger, the one that's 91 percent fat-free. That just about makes burgers count as health food. I mean, what clown thought this up?

Sure, I know why you did it. The nutritionists tell us we eat too much fat (it accounts for more than a third of the calories we take in) and hamburgers are the leading source of fat in the American diet. And I'm not doubting the magnitude of your achievement. Cutting the fat in hamburger meat by 50 percent is, as food marketing expert Phil Lempert says, "major, major, major stuff." It's clever, the way you used superlean beef and then kept the patty juicy by binding it with carrageenin, a water-retaining gum that comes from seaweed. Even the folks at the Center for Science in the Public Interest—the Washing-



RALF FINN HESTOFT—AP

The boss takes a bite: McDonald's president Ed Rensi

ton group that has given McDonald's grief in the past for its nutritional sins—is now applauding you. "It's a much improved hamburger," says CSPI dietitian Jayne Hurley. (Though she thinks you could have used a little less salt and put it on a whole-grain bun. These guys are never satisfied.)

So what's my beef? Just this: I'm not sure hamburgers *should* be healthy. If

somebody wants to eat right under the golden arches, they can already scarf down a salad, cholesterol-free fries, even apple-bran muffins and carrot sticks at some stores. *Carrot sticks*. Everybody seems to be jumping on the bandwagon—fat-free goods are crowding onto supermarket shelves.

Other chains are trying to catch up with the trend—Kentucky Fried Chicken is rolling out chicken without the skin, which lowers the fat and sodium. But why defat a hamburger? Each of us carries in our hearts an ideal hamburger. Mine is a particularly wicked creation from an Austin oasis called Martin's Kumbak Place, popularly known as Dirty's. Its One-Eye is a bacon cheeseburger cooked on a grill so grease-laden it approaches deep-frying, with an egg on top. So you know where I'm coming from. Nutritionists understand this. Because fat carries food's flavor, "It's the fat that makes life worth living," admits Adam Drewnowski, director of the human-nutrition program at the University of Michigan.

Well, Ronald, I went to check it out. Took the morning train to Philadelphia. Ran over to a golden arches on City Line Avenue. Frankly, I was surprised at how good your new burger is. As another McDonald's diner later told me, "It doesn't taste like seaweed or anything." Then I

tasted the patty alone, comparing it to one from a McD.L.T., and found only a slight difference in taste. I felt virtuous just for having eaten it. If you price the McLean Deluxe well, it could be a very big seller. You may be able to upgrade that wardrobe soon.

But you ought to know something. After my bite at your place, I swung by a Philadelphia institution, Jim's Steaks, for a cheese steak. After all, I don't get to the city of brotherly cheese steaks every day. I had the works—the five ounces of red meat, the Cheez Whiz, the sautéed onions, the soft white roll. I asked one of the owners, Abner Silver, for a nutritional analysis of his product. "We are what we are," he explained. I left Philadelphia a happy man. Have I shortened my life? Maybe. Have I enriched it? Definitely. See ya around the arches, buddy.

Sincerely,
JOHN SCHWARTZ

How to Lobby Washington, Hollywood-Style

In the world of lobbying, it was the equivalent of a full-scale ground war. At issue: whether the government will lift a 21-year ban that keeps TV networks out of the lucrative business of selling reruns. With a \$3 billion market at stake, the combatants spent millions on PR and influence peddlers. In one aggressive move, the networks hired former Illinois governor James Thompson to put the arm on Andrew Barrett, the swing vote on the Federal Communications Commission. Thompson is no communications expert. But he has an I.O.U.: he once got Barrett appointed to the Illinois Commerce Commission.

When an Italian-controlled firm, Pathe Communications Corp., bought the MGM studio, NBC sent pizza to about 70 members of Congress. The point: if foreigners can get a piece of the syndication pie, why not U.S. networks?

The Hollywood studios—

Drinks in D.C.: Quincy Jones

JAMES SMEAL—RON GALELLA LTD.



for years the winners in TV syndication—rolled out big guns, too. Producer Quincy Jones, who was enlisted by Warner Bros. and Jack Valenti, chief lobbyist for the motion-picture industry, met with all the commissioners and had drinks with Barrett. Barrett later sided with Hollywood but said the lobbying didn't influence him.

On the verge of defeat, the networks called newspapers, and a rash of editorials opposing Hollywood appeared. In true Washington fashion, the FCC last week decided to delay a vote. The real winners? The lobbyists, who can keep the meter running while the battle roars on.

How to Keep Money Safe



Proposed cuts in bank deposit insurance are so easy to evade that the safety net will be strong as ever

A few weeks ago, I was on a radio call-in show in Minneapolis. A listener named John was on the line. John wanted my opinion on moving his savings out of his bank, which he didn't trust, and into a credit union. So I asked if the credit union was federally insured. He didn't know.

That call scared me. The financial deposits we think we possess don't really exist, except as a promise to pay when asked. If we mistrust that promise, the system fails. John was chucking his bank without even judging his relative risks. How will the government win his confidence back?

The first step came earlier this month, when the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation presented a plan to beef up the anorexic Bank Insurance Fund (BIF). Not that you'd lose any savings if the BIF went broke; the U.S. Treasury underwrites every dime of your insured deposits. Still, confidence sags when people read that the fund is low.

On paper, the rescue plan is fully funded by the banking industry, not the taxpayer. Banks will kick in higher deposit-insurance premiums (their second increase since December). Congress has been asked for a \$20 billion line of credit on the U.S. Treasury, up from the \$5 billion authorized now. If any money has to be borrowed to protect insured deposits, the banks say that they will repay.

Once the BIF is shored up, the next question is: how many accounts should be insured? The administration wants to limit the BIF's liabilities by allowing you no more than \$200,000 in protected deposits in a single institution—up to \$100,000 in a retirement account and \$100,000 for everything else. No more separate coverage for Individual Retirement Accounts, Keoghs, joint accounts and trust accounts. But this apparent cutback is pure sleight of hand. Savers over the \$100,000 limits would simply move money to another bank. I rate this "reform" possible but pointless.

Dumb, dumb: A more radical proposal would insure you for no more than \$100,000 in all banking institutions combined. The Treasury wants it studied; the bankers want it killed. In order to enforce such a rule, the Feds would have to monitor the whereabouts of all your deposits—an unacceptable invasion of privacy. What's more, accounts in excess of the \$100,000 cap could simply be switched into Treasury securities. Result: no loss to savers, who would keep their federal guarantees, but a significant loss of deposits to banks. I rate this "reform" as too dumb to live.

A more reasonable proposal would end deposit insurance

for certificates of deposit sold through stockbrokers. Today, brokers can scoop up money from hundreds of investors and put it into individually insured CDs. That money goes to banks that pay 0.4 to 0.7 percentage points above average, says Norberto Mehl of Banxquote Money Markets. A law passed in 1989 stops brokered CDs from being used to prop up failing banks. But they're still available to fast-growing banks whose reach may easily exceed their grasp.

It's no skin off your nose if brokered CDs are de-insured; you're perfectly free to buy those same investments directly from a high-paying bank. All you'd lose is the convenience of having your broker find them for you.

Of all the Treasury's ideas, only one might put your future at risk: the proposal to quit protecting all deposits made by corporate pension funds. For pension-fund managers, banks have always been safe havens. Every person in the plan is separately insured for up to \$100,000, even when all the plan's money is put into a single account. The Treasury wants to end all that by guaranteeing no more than \$100,000 for the plan as a whole. Everything else would be uninsured. If your manager happened to choose a feckless bank, your profit-sharing could go down the drain. Separate coverage would be kept only for money you invest yourself, in Keoghs and Individual Retirement Accounts.

The pension-fund proposal reflects the Treasury's central purpose: to impose market discipline on the banking system by encouraging professional investors to shift their money to the safer banks. To compete in such a world, all bumbling banks would have to pull up their socks or close. But there's risk to this approach. Uninsured investors might switch to the money-center banks, be they sound or not, in the faith that the government won't let them fail. That might prop up the worst rather than the best.

High passion: The policy known as TBTF (too big to fail) arouses passions on all sides. Its supporters hew to the domino theory: the fall of a big bank might hurl the system into chaos. "Rumors of other banks being in trouble would lead to a run," says Paul Horvitz, finance professor at the University of Houston. "People might be reluctant to accept checks drawn on certain institutions." Adds Robert Litan of the Brookings Institution, "If uninsured investors were not protected in the Bank of New England case, a lot of foreign depositors would have withdrawn from money-center banks. Depositor discipline is right in theory but ridiculous in practice."

Opponents consign these arguments to the Chicken Little school of economics. "Neither theory nor history provides strong support for them," says George Kaufman, professor of finance at Loyola University. To his mind, TBTF weakens the banking system by removing the incentive for depositors to avoid jerry-built institutions. Result: big losses and costlier bailouts. Absent TBTF, the banking industry would operate on a sounder basis, he says.

How would I handicap this debate? Certain success for TBTF. The Federal Reserve will stoutly defend the dispensation accorded the biggest banks. But perhaps not the second-tier institutions. There, uninsured depositors may lose the coverage commonly granted to them now.

Don't conclude from this that everyone should pile into a TBTF bank. Roughly 83 percent of the nation's 13,000 banks are rated as sound by Veribanc in Wakefield, Mass.—which gives you plenty to choose from. For a safety rating on your bank, call Veribanc at 800-442-2657. It costs \$10 (charged to a Visa or MasterCard), plus \$3 for each additional bank or S&L you ask about in the same phone call. Check on your bank once every quarter, when the latest financial data come out. If it slips in the ratings, switch.

Associate: VIRGINIA WILSON

Giving Well Is the Best Revenge

The Met Museum gets Annenberg's masterpieces

My reaction is a combination of 'shucks and hooray.' So said Robert Montgomery Scott, president of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, when he learned that the billion-dollar collection of Philadelphian Walter H. Annenberg was going to go to New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art. Scott added wistfully: "The collection looked so beautiful in our museum." And it looked beautiful at the other stops in its current tour, the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and the National Gallery in Washington, D.C., both of which, along with Philadelphia, had hoped to inherit the dazzling array of 52 paintings by impressionists and postimpressionists. The collection will end its tour at the Metropolitan (June 4-Oct. 13), where it will look even more beautiful to Met officials, who can wipe their sweaty palms and breathe deep gulps of relief now that they've taken the gold in the Annenberg Olympics.

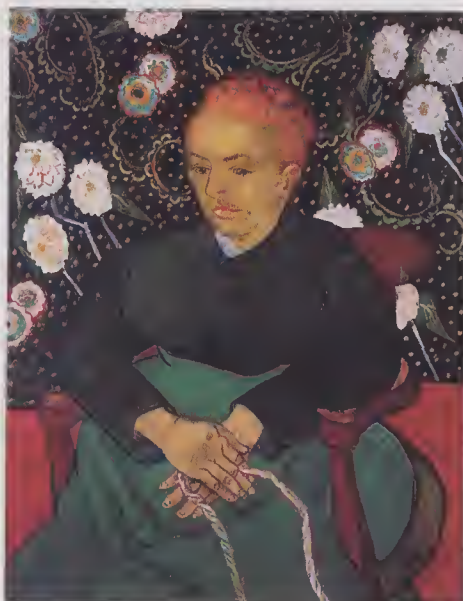
Savoring victory, Metropolitan director Philippe de Montebello said: "The Annenberg collection is magnificent, ravishing," and "will make an immeasurable addition" to his museum. The bequest (which goes to the Met after the death of Annenberg, now 83) will become the centerpiece of the Met's 19th-century European galleries, slated for renovation. Annenberg, the publisher, philanthropist and former U.S. ambassador to Britain, has stipulated that the pictures must remain together.

'Huge audience': Annenberg chose the Metropolitan because "the Met and the Louvre are the two complete museums in the world." The losers mournfully seemed to agree. "The announcement about the Met was no surprise," said Earl A. (Rusty) Powell, director of the L.A. museum, who accepted a gift of \$10 million from Annenberg last week but insists that the money was not a "consolation prize." Philadelphia's Scott admitted that his museum couldn't compete with the "huge audience" drawn by the Met (4.6 million visitors in 1990, compared with 480,000 at Philadelphia).

The reaction at the National Gallery was different—a diplomatic iciness not just at losing the collection but at being sand-

bagged by the news of the bequest. The New York Times broke the story on the front page just as the National Gallery was kicking off its gala 50th-anniversary celebration. The fete includes a show of 327 works donated in honor of the occasion, including such gems as a set of original Degas wax sculptures. J. Carter Brown, the gallery's director, called the timing of the Annenberg announcement "a tad quaint"—two tight monosyllables that spoke volumes. Brown took great pains to acknowledge the largesse of Annenberg to the art world and to the National Gallery, which in 1989 received (as did the Philadelphia museum) a \$5 million gift from the philanthropist. But gallery staffers discussed the Annenberg news in terms of intrigue and betrayal. It didn't pass notice that Arthur Sulzberger, chairman of The New York Times, is also chairman of the Metropolitan's board of trustees.

Annenberg's immense fortune (in 1988 he sold his Triangle Publications, includ-



FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE HON. & MRS. WALTER H. ANNENBERG

Lullaby in colors: Van Gogh's *'La Berceuse (Woman Rocking a Cradle)'*





ENRICO FERORELLI

'Vision of heaven': *The Annenbergs at Sunnylands beneath Monet's 'Path Through the Irises,' 'The Siesta' by Gauguin and Renoir's 'Daughters of Catulle Mendès' (below)*

ing TV Guide and Seventeen magazine, to Rupert Murdoch for \$3.2 billion) was built on the legacy of his immigrant father, Moses, who started his rise with a wire service that sent racing results to bookies. In 1940, Moses, then owner of The Philadelphia Inquirer, was convicted of federal income-tax evasion and served two years in prison. This family background didn't make Annenberg the darling of Main Line Philadelphia, whose posh clubs barred him. And he was startled by the vehemence of some in Washington who opposed his appointment as Nixon's ambassador to London. Despite his friendship with Scott and Brown, Annenberg may still have felt the wounds that he received in these two communities.

Images of women: The Annenberg collection is certainly a prize to make museum directors knock-kneed with lust. Seeing the paintings at Sunnylands, the 208-acre estate of Annenberg and his wife, Leonore, in Rancho Mirage, Calif., one writer went into mystical shock: "Before this orchestral blending of color and beauty, serenity and rapture, the brain stumbles . . . The eyes waltz but the feet are stilled, for fear that the slightest misstep will dissolve this vision of heaven." More prosaically, the collection contains major works by Renoir, Cézanne, van Gogh, Gauguin, Monet, Degas, Vuillard, Matisse, Seurat, Picasso, Braque and others. "La Berceuse (Woman Rocking a Cradle)" is a picture that meant a great deal to van Gogh, who intended it to be a "lullaby in colors." Images of women abound in the collection, from Lautrec's portrait of a nude prostitute confronting herself in a mirror to the affluent domesticity of Renoir's "The Daughters of Catulle Mendès."

Gauguin's "The Siesta" takes an almost cinematic angle on a group of Tahitian women at ease in their missionary dresses. One of the most beautiful pictures is Vuillard's "The Album," a painting of seven women that dissolves into a gorgeous dream in rose and gold. When Annenberg, who grew up with seven sisters, saw this painting he knew he had to have it.

And now the Met will have it. Annenberg's gesture is one of the grandest in the long line of men who've attained a kind of immortality by wedding their vast wealth with the products of genius. The man whose philanthropies include a recent pledge of \$50 million to the United Negro College Fund has earned his reflected glory. Giving well is the best revenge.

JACK KROLL with
MAGGIE MALONE in New York and
DANIEL GLICK in Washington





Gangster Gekko: Snipes (in red jacket) and deputies in executive board meeting

WARNER BROS.

MOVIES

Night of the Living Crackheads

Violence on and off-screen at 'New Jack City'

The central premise of Mario Van Peebles's new film, "New Jack City," is that the culture of greed that ran through Wall Street in the '80s also ran through American ghettos, only in grossly exaggerated form. It left intensified poverty on the one hand and, on the other, a new breed of super-Yuppie criminals. These are the new jacks: natty gangster Gekkos, with flashy sculpted hair, advanced computer systems, cellular phones and high-tech weapons. Like Gekko in the movie "Wall Street," they believe that greed is good and that human life counts for little by comparison. Crack is their junk-bond capital, a new source of seemingly unlimited—and carelessly destructive—power. Their game is mergers and acquisitions. As Nino Brown (Wesley Snipes), the beautiful new jack hustler who takes over Harlem by introducing crack, says, "Gone are the days of hustling on the street corner. You change the product, you change the marketing strategy."

Violence has plagued showings of "New Jack City" in suburban Boston, Brooklyn, N.Y., Chicago, Detroit, Houston, Las Vegas, Nev., Los Angeles, San Francisco, Sayreville, N.J., and Tukwila, Wash. In Brooklyn, where teenagers from rival housing projects fired more than 100 shots, killing one man and wounding a pregnant wom-

an, a manager at the Duffield Twin likened the scene to "World War III." In Los Angeles, a crowd of 1,500 who were turned away from the Mann Westwood Theatre opening night rioted, looting some 20 stores. Other skirmishes ranged from nonfatal stabbings and shootings—one over a girl, another over a leather 8-ball jacket—to fights that made headlines only because of the ties to the movie. In Omaha, Neb., a peaceful weekend run made the papers.

For critics who believe that violence on screen breeds violence off, the link seemed clear. Many civic groups, from the National Coalition on Television Violence (NCTV)

to an alliance of black Houston ministers, argue that "New Jack City" promotes violence. According to psychiatrist Thomas Radecki, research director for NCTV, "It's certainly playing a triggering role [in the violence at theaters] . . . This film is like throwing gasoline on a fire."

But the connection between life and the movies is more complicated than that. Many of those involved hadn't even seen the film. Some of the theaters, particularly in Brooklyn and Westwood Village, have histories of trouble. The filmmakers say their movie discourages violence, because the good guys win. In its shots of crack users, "New Jack City" chillingly apes Gothic horror movies: crack is a palpable evil, with a life of its own, and it ultimately destroys the hustlers the same way it does the community. As Van Peebles says, "The conclusion [is that] anybody who takes crack dies, anybody who deals crack dies."

The real roots of the violence at theaters are economic. According to Warrington Hudlin, president of the Black Filmmaker Foundation and producer of "House Party," a light teen comedy that nonetheless met with disturbances at theaters, "Each time these movies open up, by this new generation of black filmmakers, there's a huge, huge demand. People are standing in line for hours, and then they're told the theater's out of tickets. You can't frustrate people that way, particularly a segment of the population that has anger anyway."

Fear of a black cinema: The repercussions may be devastating for the black film industry. Ten theaters have dropped the film, and Spike Lee says he has already heard that some theaters don't want to show his upcoming "Jungle Fever" for fear of similar incidents. "There's a perception that all black films are the same," he said, "and that if you have black films showing at a theater, there's going to be a disturbance. . . . [The

studios] won't fund a film they think exhibitors are going to be afraid to show." Sometimes the fear isn't even prompted by violence at theaters. Two days before the 1988 opening of "Tougher Than Leather," starring the rap act Run-D.M.C., two Long Island theaters canceled the film after violence at a rap concert. Van Peebles sees this guilt by association as racism. It doesn't apply to, say, a fatal shooting at the opening of "The Godfather Part III" last Christmas. "If Francis Ford Coppola's movie has a problem with three people getting shot, no one says to David Lynch, 'You can't make movies.'"

JOHN LELAND with
ABIGAIL KUFLIK in New York,
KAREN SPRINGEN in Chicago
and bureau reports



SAM JONES—AP

Jack attack: Police at the Westwood riot scene in Los Angeles

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BOOKS

The Bad and Not So Beautiful

A down-and-out movie producer bites back

If you're a player in Hollywood, there's only one way to read Julia Phillips's book *You'll Never Eat Lunch in This Town Again* (573 pages. Random House. \$22). First turn to the index to see if you're mentioned in the former producer's acerbic kiss-and-tell memoir. If you've escaped her scathing scrutiny, you can relax—and start looking for names of people not as fortunate.

There are a lot of them. In Phillips's 573-page primal scream we may not learn much about moviemaking, but we get to know the personal and physical flaws of Hollywood's beautiful people. We hear that Steven Spielberg is a selfish "little prick" and a "user of children." Martin Scorsese is a misogynist. "Collagened face" David Geffen is "money-obsessed." And Warren Beatty, who she claims once proposed a *ménage à trois* with Julia and her daughter, who was then 14, is "priapic."

Phillips doesn't let up. Cybill Shepherd is a bad actress with a "fat ass." Kathleen Turner has bad teeth and a runny nose. Goldie Hawn is "borderline dirty with stringy hair." Almost the only people who get off easily in her account of sex and drugs are either dead (Mama Cass) or professionally buried (David Begelman).



TOM ZIMBEROFF

After the fall: Ex-filmmaker Phillips tells all

But the author does not spare herself. A Phi Beta Kappa graduate of Mount Holyoke who went on to produce the Oscar-winning movie "The Sting," she outlines her own horrifying journey from the top of the film industry to the end of a freebase

pipe. She survived her cocaine addiction, but her marriage to coproducer Michael Phillips ended, her so-called friends abandoned her and her attempts to make a comeback as a producer flopped.

Her effort as a writer may bear more fruit. Los Angeles bookstores report that "Lunch" is the hottest book of the year.

But Hollywood insiders are not amused. "This book comes from a nasty, mean-spirited place," says Geffen. "Her account of our meeting is a complete fabrication. The woman is a sociopath who had an incredible opportunity to do something wonderful with her life and squandered it." Says agent Sue Mengers: "Every comment pertaining to me was false—except I do have fat thighs."

Phillips, 46, is unrepentant. Sitting in the Polo Lounge in a black halter jumpsuit with a front zipper that won't stay zipped, she insists that her book is not bitter or bitchy. "It's unflinching," she says, sipping her Stolichka vodka through a straw. "There will be some people who are very mad about this book. So what? Believe me,

I pulled my punches. They're all much worse. Hollywood is a place that attracts people with massive holes in their souls." And Phillips pointedly notes that she herself was once one of them.

DONNA FOOTE in Los Angeles

Antiseptic Porn for the Literary Set

Josephine Hart's *Damage* (198 pages. Knopf. \$18) is a sentimental little novel that works so hard, and is so sincere and humorless, that a soft-minded critic is tempted to give it a provisional pat on its spine. There, there; you tried. You're an empty little thing, but all that sweat should count for something. And apparently it will, for it looks as if "Damage" may be one of the season's most talked-about books.

The situation comes straight from the world of Victorian pornography. The narrator, an English paterfamilias and Tory M.P., leads a passionless existence until he meets his son's fiancée, with



JILLIAN EDELSTEIN

Damaging obsessions: Hart

whom he becomes erotically enthralled. She, at least, keeps her cool. All-in-the-family sex is nothing new to her: her affair with her teenage brother prompted his suicide. "I tried to soothe him with my body," she reports. "Semen and tears are the symbols of the night." You might think our agitated M.P. would be alarmed by such language, but he's too busy inventing missed maxims of his own. "Elliptical intimacy is the marriage vow of good companions," he observes, and later: "London is no place for death." La Rochefoucauld, call home.

The woman announces that she will marry the M.P.'s son

yet continue to service the father. Here the heavy breathing isn't in the details, it's in the prose: "For hours, we had fought a battle with the barricades of the body." It would have been a kindness had Hart's editor reminded her that we don't battle barricades, but the people behind them. Well, no one ever said sexual obsession was easy to write about—which is why Dickens, after much thought, decided not to write "Great Expectations" from Miss Havisham's point of view. Yet "Damage," with all its windy pronouncements on the human condition, will sell. It's just the book for readers who wouldn't be caught on the subway with "Mistress Whippingham's Academy."

PETER S. PRESCOTT

Fantasies for an Orchestra

Young composers get to shine in Chicago

Rich Carter says it's his "first big break," which is rather like calling the Hope diamond a trinket. Earlier this month the Chicago Symphony Orchestra gave the world premiere of "Adagio for Children," a work Carter began writing when he was 16. Last fall.

It was teenage time at the world-famous Chicago Symphony Orchestra, an idea not nearly as incongruous as it sounds. As part of its annual series of youth concerts, the CSO performed works composed by local young people. Along with Carter's "Adagio," "Inspirations" by John Orfe and Jeff Letterly's "Green-Gold" received full-dress treatment. The three pieces were the first fruits of the Young Composers Project, an idea spawned by John Corigliano, 53, the CSO's first composer-in-residence. As notable as the music was the fervor of the players, led by assistant conductor Michael Morgan. Violinist Arnold Brostoff gave the works the highest praise: "They're worth playing as regular subscription pieces."

The miracle on Michigan Avenue began many blocks and a world away from Orchestra Hall, at the Howland School of the Arts, an inner-city public elementary school on the city's South Side. Several fourth and fifth graders, most with little musical training, had an unusual assignment. Write a tune, their teacher told them, dream up a melody. Some kids worked on the recorder, others on a classroom piano; when Corigliano arrived last March, they were ready. None knew musical notation, so they brought scraps of paper with themes indicated simply by a string of letters—C, E, G—or carried tunes in their heads. Corigliano talked with the students, listened and eventually took down the airs.

At the same time, the CSO gathered recommendations for prospective composers—kids who were already dedicated musicians—from junior and senior high schools all around Illinois. Corigliano worked with Letterly, Carter and Orfe and divided among them 16 themes written by the Howland students. The teenagers' assign-



PHOTOS BY STEVE LEONARD—BLACK STAR

Move over, Beethoven: Carter (left), Corigliano, Morgan, Letterly and Orfe

ment was meaty: use the melodies as building blocks in a full-scale orchestral work. The inducement: a pledge of three performances by the CSO.

"People said, 'Can you really find these kids?' We omit the idea, the possibility, that young people could compose," says Corigliano. "In fact, it wasn't hard to find them. They're all over the country." One of the most appealing aspects of the CSO project is that it encourages not only the gifted but the curious and the eager. It could serve as a model for orchestras from Atlanta to San Francisco—in fact, a few have already made inquiries. With American music education minimal, at best, it's also timely. The National Commission on Music Education, which has just released its report "Growing Up Complete, the Imperative for Music Education," warns that, without proper arts education, American children may grow up "right-brain damaged."

Young composers, unlike performers, have a particularly tough time learning their craft and refining their art. "There are no roads open to them," says Corigliano. "There's no instruction. The school says, 'Good luck, it's nice you're doing that, we can't help you.' Ask kids today who a composer is and they'll say, 'A stooped, white-haired old man. And dead.' Compos-

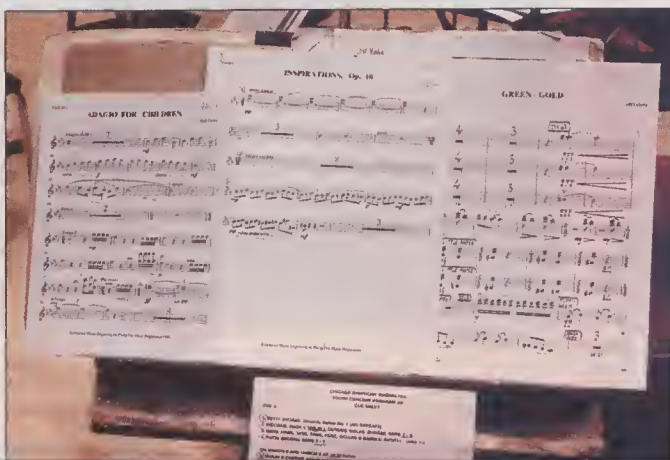
ers are excluded not by intent but because nobody knows who they are." They also have almost no way to judge the quality of their music. "If you manage to get your school orchestra to play your work, it sounds lousy, even if you're Beethoven."

'A kid in a candy store': Whether or not Orfe, Letterly or Carter will ever approach Beethoven isn't important. "All three kids have real personalities already," says Corigliano. Carter is "very American." His "Adagio," plaintive and folklike, shows off individual instruments. Orfe, who is only 14, produced a virtuoso piece clearly influenced by Mahler and Strauss. "It was like telling a kid in a candy store, 'OK, we're going to leave you alone here for two hours.' He goes for the jugular. He took the players to their limits." Letterly, 18, "soaked everything up like a sponge. He grew light years from where he started last summer," Corigliano says. The Young Composers Project has also given participants a chance to shine among their peers. Recently Orfe's chemistry teacher interrupted class so everyone could hear a radio feature on the young composers. Afterward, students turned to Orfe and asked admiringly, "You wrote that?"

At Orchestra Hall, each of the Howland students took a bow. Even if the unabashedly enthusiastic novices (some of whom prefer rap to Rachmaninoff) don't pursue classical music, the composers project has set them on a great adventure. "They're getting here at 5 o'clock in the morning," reports principal Anita Broms. "They're smiling and laughing and grinning at me and saying, 'I heard my music'." That, of course, may be the greatest legacy of all.

KATRINE AMES with
TODD BARRETT in Chicago

High praise from the pros: Three new pieces take center stage



Down on the Fish Farm

A booming aquaculture business is turning fish into the chicken of the sea

BY LAURA SHAPIRO

Thirty years from now, if a host of new and starry-eyed predictions by food technologists and the seafood industry comes true, you're likely to put some money into a vending machine and extract a ready-to-heat fish dinner. Driving home, you might warm up the meal in your car's microwave oven and dine on the spot. That should be safe enough if your entree happens to be seafood-on-a-stick; and don't worry about drips, because the product will carry its own sauce on the inside. How will it taste? Like anything you want it to. According to the seafood industry's crystal ball, products developed from, say, perch or pollack could have the flavor of salmon or lobster. Or, for that matter, a cheeseburger.

These predictions come at a time when Americans are eating more fish than ever: nearly 16 pounds per person in 1989, up from 12 pounds in 1980. But that's pretty skimpy compared with our consumption of beef (68 pounds) and chicken (65 pounds). Hence the seafood industry's new goal—"20 by 2000," or 20 pounds of fish per person by the year 2000. No controversy there: fish is one of the most virtuous protein sources imaginable. Most kinds of seafood have fewer than 150 calories and 100 milligrams of cholesterol in a 3½-ounce serving; fish are also high in omega-3 fatty acids, which help prevent heart disease. While our favorite species tend to be pricey, there are often good buys available on less familiar fish, such as shark or hake. But the industry has a far more grandiose ambition than simply getting us to squeeze some lemon over a nice piece of sole more often. What we could be witnessing in the next few years is a speeded-up version of the last half century of American farming, this time in the realm of fish. Perch-on-a-stick may well show up on every street corner, but old-fashioned fresh fish is slated to become what the industry calls a "memory" food, as rarefied as a fuzzy ripe peach or a free-range chicken.

Leading the way to the future is the high-tech aquaculture industry, barely two decades old but already an important supplier of numerous species including three on the seafood best-seller list: shrimp, salmon and



JAMES D. WILSON—NEWSWEEK (ABOVE) & IRA WYMAN FOR NEWSWEEK (RIGHT)



catfish. "We're taking a business that used to depend on minutiae—spot changes from day to day, no assurance of quality, sporadic supplies—and making it more like poultry and beef," says Jon Stamell, marketing consultant for the Norwegian Salmon Marketing Council, which represents Norway's \$1.35 billion farm-raised salmon business. "This is a whole new thing for seafood."

The Norwegians, pioneers in the use of



DOUG WILSON—BLACK STAR

Seafood in its prime: *High-tech sturgeon farming in California (left), Ludvigsen with the royalty of salmon (top), testing for quality at wholesale in Portland, Maine*



sophisticated fish-farming techniques, produce salmon from stocks that have been genetically manipulated so the fish will grow more quickly than they do in the wild, withstand disease better and provide consistent texture, color and fat distribution. Similar techniques enable North American fish farms to raise Atlantic salmon in the Pacific. Designer trout are being bred in Idaho, where the Clear Springs Trout Co. produces female trout—favored for their appearance and texture among other genetic attributes—so efficiently that males are all but obsolete. (The "fathers" are female trout that have been fed testosterone. They produce sperm, but it carries only X chromosomes, and the offspring are all female). Even sturgeon, a species with a pedigree that goes back to the ice age, has been domesticated. Sierra AquaFarms in California grows sturgeon in tanks, indoors, under constant monitoring by computers. The water is continuously filtered, and the fish are fed by robots.

"We're moving to industrialized fishing, just the way we moved to corporate agriculture in the 1940s," says Robert Clark, a food historian and editor of *The Journal of Gastronomy*. "Proponents say we'll have the fish year-round, and they'll be cheaper. But they'll be like winter tomatoes."

No flavor: One reason the future looks bright for aquaculture is that Americans are happy with the relative blandness of farmed fish. "If it's white and has no flavor, everyone will love it," says Norman Stavits, president of North Coast Seafoods in Boston, a distributor. Every year Americans catch some of the world's greatest fish—Northwest wild salmon—and sell it to such appreciative fish eaters as the Japanese, importing for our own dinner tables the mild-tasting salmon farmed in Norway and elsewhere. Even in the heavily overfished waters off the East Coast, there are plenty of fish in the sea; they just don't appeal to most Americans. "We have enormous stocks of mackerel, herring, dogfish, whiting and squid," says Barbara Stevenson, owner of two fishing boats in Portland, Maine. "They're cheap. There's no demand."

Many chefs prefer farmed fish because it's always available and it's likely to arrive at the kitchen in good condition. "We get farmed striped sea bass that has been harvested and shipped the same day," says Nancy Abrams, marketing and culinary director at the Chicago Fish House, a distributor. "You can't find a fresher product."

But people who love fish and eat a lot of it tend to insist on nature's own. "Texture is the biggest difference," says Wayne Ludvigsen, chef at Ray's Boathouse, one of Seattle's best seafood restaurants. "There's very little muscle in farm-raised fish. They really don't do anything but lie on the bottom and chow." Even people in the aquaculture business will admit—off the record—that they prefer wild fish. "I'll take troll-caught king salmon from the Pacific Northwest any day," says one.

Aquaculture now provides about 10 percent of the fish we consume, and the percentage is expected to grow quickly. "Supplies of wild stocks are declining, and demand is up," says Robert Fetzer, a financial consultant to the seafood industry. "There is no way besides aquaculture to make up that difference." But the oceans aren't empty yet. Analysts think that with stronger controls over boats and fishermen, such overfished species as cod, haddock and flounder might return to abundance within a decade. "Some say we should cut fishing by 50 percent," says George Nardi, program director for the New England Fisheries Development Association, a trade organization. "Then a lot of fishermen would go out of business. Can we get together and work out a more reasonable percentage?" Fishermen, who treasure their independence, have resisted pressure to cut back; but they too see the need for better management of ocean resources. "Stocks are rebuilding, and scientists are concerned about shepherding them through until they have a chance to spawn," says Stevenson. "So are we."

Fish pens: Critics have pointed out that aquaculture too puts stresses on the environment. Fish farmers treat disease, which is very common in tightly packed fish pens, by adding antibiotics to the feed—a cure that may engender more disease, in the form of resistant bacteria, if the antibiotic gets into the water in high enough concentrations. "The amounts used are very small, but putting controls on them is called for," says William Hershberger, an aquaculture specialist at the University of Washington. "There are no legal limits."

Perhaps the biggest environmental threat in aquaculture is posed by the ones that get away. Farmed fish do escape their pens; if they interbreed with wild stocks, eventually wild fish will lose the unique genetic characteristics that help them survive in nature. The offspring of escaped salmon now outnumber native salmon in some Norwegian waters. It's also possible that escapees will adapt to the wild environment, reproduce and eventually compete with native stocks for survival in a particular ecological niche. "That would be a danger to wild stocks," says Hershberger. "The best long-term solution would be to

Most nominations



Best Performance in a Leading Roll
Indiana Jones™ Epic Stunt Spectacular



Best Foreign Actor
The Alien (in The Great Movie Ride)



Best Screamplay
Catastrophe Canyon



for best vacation.



Best Toon

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sterilize farmed fish. We're working on it."

For shoppers, the chief question about fish isn't whether it was raised by nature or computers, but whether it's any good. Every cookbook and food columnist on the planet, it seems, has weighed in with the same advice: buy impeccably fresh fish and you'll never go wrong. Sure, but over here in the real world, that wisdom leaves a lot of people eating hot dogs. It's a rare neighborhood that's blessed with a good fishmonger; and although a few supermarket chains have greatly improved their fish departments in recent years, most are still not equipped to provide the gentle handling, speedy distribution and constant low tem-

peratures necessary for this fragile product. "I've worked in retail, and I've seen fish that was delivered four hours earlier sitting around, not refrigerated," says an executive in the seafood industry. A slightly over-the-hill fillet won't make you sick, but it won't encourage you to buy fish again soon, either. Many seafood experts urge consumers to complain to the management when they get poor fish—and to smell before buying. "The nose knows," says Stavis. "If it smells like fish, it's not fresh."

Right now the dream of the seafood business is to create and sell more "value-added" fish: a fillet prepared with Cajun spices, for example, packaged and sold frozen. The

products may turn out to be perfectly yummy, but where oh where is that simple, glistening piece of fish that need only be broiled a few minutes to give you one of the best and easiest dinners ever? Simplicity is hard to market, but people are hungry for it. Legal Sea Foods, a chain of seven beloved fish restaurants in the Boston area, sells about 150,000 pounds of fish every week—farmed and wild, imported and domestic. You can get seafood quesadillas, seafood diavolo, seafood glazed or spiced or slathered with garlic butter, and the lines out front sometimes stretch for blocks. What's the most popular item on the menu? Broiled scrod. And it always has been.

Sole on Ice: Frozen Fish With Flavor

Has that been frozen?" The clerk cringed. He eyed the fillets of orange roughly he was wrapping. "No, ah—not really. Not frozen solid. Just chilled."

Almost certainly, he was lying. Less than 10 percent of the fish sold in this country has never been frozen; and according to distributors, virtually all our orange roughly arrives frozen from New Zealand. A mild, firm fish popular for its almost complete lack of flavor, orange roughly stands up very well to freezing and proper thawing; home cooks have no reason to shy away from it. Yet a fish clerk at one of Manhattan's most expensive supermarkets felt he couldn't tell the truth; nobody would have bought the fish.

"Our whole concept of 'fresh' is warped," says Peggy Parker, program director at the Alaska Seafood Marketing Institute, a trade organization. "We keep trying to tell people that fresh isn't the opposite of frozen, it's the opposite of spoiled."

Frozen fish, traditionally the lowliest seafood in the store, is getting an overhaul. With supermarkets largely unable to keep fresh fish in prime condition, and technology at hand for sophisticated, on-board freezing, more fish will show up in the freezer case—some of it looking very glamorous indeed. "Frozen

got a bad rap at retail," says Steve Chartier, national sales manager for Seattle's Peter Pan Seafood. "Now fish are kept on board in refrigerated sea water, at temperatures below freezing, and delivered to processing plants within 24 hours. The difference in quality is night and day."

The undisputed royalty of frozen fish is the Alaskan salmon from Triad Fisheries on Bainbridge Island, Wash., a product so extraordinary it's known among fish lovers as "Bruce's salmon," after Triad's owner Bruce Gore. Susan Herrmann Loomis, author of "The Great American



DOUG WILSON—BLACK STAR

'An incredibly fresh product': Gore (right) and friends on board

Seafood Cookbook," says it's among the best fish she ever had; and chef Wayne Ludvigsen of Ray's Boathouse in Seattle serves it six months a year. "Because of Bruce's freezing technique, and all the handling that goes into the fish, you're assured of an incredibly fresh product—within my definition of fresh," says Ludvigsen.

Triad's fishermen handle each salmon individually. "We race the clock," says Gore. "We want to get the fish stabilized prior to rigor mortis. That happens very early on, and it can be controlled by temperature. We bleed the fish and freeze it pre-rigor—the boats are capable of about 35 degrees below zero. That very rapid freeze minimizes tissue damage, so when the fish is thawed you don't get any liquid draining out of ruptured cells. The fish stays moist, and it slides across your tongue like a fresh fish."

Freezing alone doesn't make these fish great, of course: Triad's boats use hook and line rather than nets, and they target Alaskan salmon just when they're fattening themselves up to spawn. All this attention makes for an expensive product, as Gore readily admits. "You could pay \$10 a pound for my king salmon, then go across the street and buy farmed salmon for \$3.49," he says. "But it's the difference between buying a Pinto and a Porsche."

L.S.

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Cloak and Daggers

A spy sees red over charges of fabrication

If only this were one of her best sellers—"The Spy Wore Red" or "The Spy Went Dancing." Then, Aline, Countess of Romanones, would surely triumph. Alas, this is real life and the villain is neither the Gestapo nor the KGB. The countess deftly overcame operatives of those enemy forces in three accounts of her years as an American agent (the last volume, "The Spy Wore Silk," has just been published). But this time, she's under attack from what could be considered friendly fire—Women's Wear Daily, the fashion trade paper that also chronicles the glittering international social set where the American-born countess has reigned since her 1947 marriage to a Spanish aristocrat.

In a Feb. 28 exposé headlined **THE SPY STRIPPED NAKED**, the paper claims that the countess's books "may be more fiction than fact." The most important piece of evidence: a recently declassified file in the National Archives in Washington. The paper says it was written by the countess in 1945 when she was Aline Griffith (formerly of Pearl River, N.Y.) and working as a code clerk in Madrid for the OSS, the precursor of the CIA. The countess's first book, "The Spy Wore Red," published in 1987, is a detailed account of those years, full of dead bodies and double agents.

Women's Wear reporter Susan Watters was able to track down the file because the countess had told John Taylor, military specialist at the archives, that her real code name was not Tiger, as the book states, but Butch. The file contains 80 pages of routine reports from Butch on social life in Madrid and rumors about German agents. There's no mention of the exploits in her books: for example, the time she blasted a would-be assassin with her Beretta.

Watters's story, reprinted in an expanded version in the current issue of *W*, the sister magazine of *Women's Wear*, has the countess fuming. "I have always considered myself an honorable woman," she says. "Naturally, I want to preserve my reputation." She has never denied that Butch was



MARIO RUIZ

The author of the 'Butch' file? The countess and her first best seller

one of her code names, she says, but so were Tiger and Sugarlump and "some others I can't remember." Sam Vaughan, who edited her

first book, recalls that the countess's original title was "Code Name: Butch." It was changed, he says, to boost sales. Watters quotes her as saying that her first publisher, Random House, made the change because Butch "had other implications."

As for the humdrum files, the countess, who has not yet read them, maintains that they prove nothing. Even if they are hers, she says that she would never have written down *everything* she did for her country: "You have to keep many things secret." Taylor, the archivist, points out that there are 33 boxes of unfiled documents in the same series and it's possible that other reports might back up de Romanones.

Docu-drama: The countess admits her original manuscript was turned down by half a dozen publishers as "too documentary." So, she says, she went back to the typewriter and re-created dialogue, telescoped some events to simplify the story line and made some characters composites—while keeping the "core" of the tale. All this she acknowledges in author's notes at the beginning of each book. With those changes, says Vaughan, "I decided that she had invented a new genre: romantic nonfiction."

Some of the countess's friends in the loose-knit fraternity of ex-spies smell a conspiracy. They think the countess is the victim of jealous gossip by other former agents whose own books were rejected by publish-

ers as too dull. "In my opinion, the Watters story is one notch above the National Inquirer," says Geoffrey Jones, president of the Veterans of the OSS. It's not hard to understand why other ex-agents might be jealous. Besides the books, there are plans for a TV movie and a Broadway musical based on "The Spy Wore Red." The countess, whose husband died in 1987, is also in demand as a speaker on politics ("Her lectures place her somewhere to the right of Attila the Hairdresser," says Vaughan). But Watters and her editor, Patrick McCarthy, stand by their story. "Some of her books are quite amusing," says McCarthy, "but no one thinks they are true."

Indeed, even the countess's fans concede that readers should not take every word of her books literally. "What she really tried to do is make the OSS look good," says Ray Cline, a former deputy CIA director who now teaches at Georgetown University. "Espionage is mostly boredom. Once in a while, about 2 percent of the time, it's very exciting. But 98 percent is drudgery. In order to get her books published, she decided to glamorize." In that, she is not unique, says Elizabeth Bancroft, director of the National Intelligence Book Center in Washington, who publishes a respected list of current books on espionage. "Every defector's account makes it sound like the whole KGB depended on this guy," says Bancroft, who adds that the truth is slippery in the cloak-and-dagger world. "That's why they call it the 'wilderness of mirrors'."

BARBARA KANTROWITZ

Presents a Guide to Nutrition & Weight Loss

The connection is clear. Good nutrition and frequent exercise pay off in a trimmer, firmer, healthier body and a money-can't-buy-it sense of well-being.

For most of us, it's not making—but keeping—the connection that's the hard part. But armed with the right information and a realistic goal, gradual changes in eating and exercise habits can be gained—with no pain.

year and how much effort was needed to do it. Finally, determine the weight at which you could feel good about how you look. It may," he adds, "be higher than you had thought."

GET YOUR BALANCE

A well-balanced diet derives two-thirds of its protein from plant sources—foods rich in complex carbohydrates such as whole-grain breads, cereals and legumes, and the remaining third from animals. While an excess of fat and cholesterol have been

linked to higher incidences of coronary heart disease and certain types of cancers, too little protein can also be a problem. A reasonable approach, according to the American Heart Association and the National Cancer Institute, is to cut down on animal protein rather than exclude it. Choose lean cuts of beef, lamb and pork (trim away the fat); and serve fish and poultry (skinless) more

often. Reprogram yourself to think of animal protein, as only a part of your main dish—providing extra flavor and zest—the way the Japanese use it in vegetable and rice dishes. For virtually fat-free protein, create complementary

The Big Payoff

The benefits of good nutrition and frequent exercise pay off in both the short and the long term:

- 1. Weight control is easier.**
- 2. The risk of heart disease, certain types of cancer, osteoporosis and diabetes may be reduced.**
- 3. You'll feel better about yourself, how you look and what you do. Guaranteed.**

YOU BE THE JUDGE

Maintaining weight does not require super-human effort if that weight is firmly rooted in reality. "Everyone needs to determine their own weight. Don't rely on cultural ideals or height-weight charts that for some may be unnecessarily lenient and for others, unnecessarily stringent," says weight control expert Kelly Brownell. A Professor in the Department of Psychiatry at the University of Pennsylvania, Brownell teamed with Yale Professor Judith Rodin, to co-author *The Weight Maintenance Survival Guide*. "Be realistic; look at your family's physical history; think of the lowest weight you have been able to maintain for at least a

B. Dobos/H. Armstrong Roberts



Vic Huber/H. Armstrong Roberts



proteins by combining incomplete protein sources such as legumes, dried lentils, peas and beans with rice, corn, cereal or grain.

MIX THE QUICK FIX

Slow and steady is the best way to lose weight. One to two pounds a week is the ideal rate of loss, reports the American

Heart Association. This longer time span gives the body time to adjust, and the pounds that are lost come from fat, not water. Most women can lose one to two pounds a week by consuming 1200-1500 calories a day and the majority of men can lose a similar amount by eating 1500-1800 calories a day. To avoid the "I'll be o.k. if I just skip my next meal" syndrome, try a nutritious, controlled calorie meal replacement such as Dynatrim. So follow the Dynatrim plan. It can help keep you on that steady course.

TAKE AN EXERCISE BREAK

Research at Stanford University suggests that workouts as short as 10 minutes can keep you healthy if they are done often enough. Short 10-minute bursts of activity—a brisk walk, cycling, rope jumping, stair climbing—are easy to fit in before work, during a break and after work. Make the minutes add up!

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Mousse it
Freeze it!



LOSE
YOURSELF
IN THE
TASTE!

Clinical test results every dieter should know!

Selecting a weight-loss plan is a very personal decision. It starts with your faith in a product's quality and effectiveness. That's why you should know that DynaTrim is from the makers of CENTRUM — the health and nutrition experts. It's also why the DynaTrim plan has been clinically tested by an independent research firm. They selected 55 people, all of whom wanted to lose weight (motivation is important), then kept track of their progress for seven weeks as they used DynaTrim according to the directions. This gave them a choice because DynaTrim is the only instant meal replacement that you can blend for a shake that's thick, smooth — never gritty. Blend longer for a rich, creamy mousse. Or freeze DynaTrim for a frozen treat.

The results were impressive. The 43 participants who completed the study lost an average of 16 pounds* on the DynaTrim plan! They also lost an average of 4 inches off their waist and hips! The clinical findings further showed lower average blood pressure and cholesterol levels. These positive benefits often accompany weight-loss programs like DynaTrim that include reduced calories, exercise and behavior modification.

Want to lose weight? Try your own test! Set yourself a reasonable goal, get a positive attitude and get DynaTrim. Then lose yourself in the taste:

*Individual weight loss may vary.

Use as directed.

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IT ONLY SEEMS LIKE YESTERDAY.

Miata Special Edition They had names like Healey, MG, Triumph and Jag. They smelled of engine oil and leather. And a chosen few were the deep green of the English countryside. If these memories are familiar, this Miata is for you. Its coat of British Racing Green and tan interior evoke the best of the classic roadsters.

Settle into the cockpit and revel in the scent of leather. Other than the standard CD player and power accessories, you'd think little has changed since 1960. But as you bring the eager twin-cam engine to life and grab the wood shift knob, you find that everything's changed. Everything except the fun.

Take the inside line through a curve, and the rigid unibody works in concert with four-wheel double-wishbone suspension. Handling has come a long way in the last

30 years. So has reliability. The Miata may well be the most trouble-free sports car you'll ever own. Small wonder that with such virtues, *Road & Track* recently named it "One of the Ten Best Cars in the World."*

So come experience the old magic in a new way. See your Mazda Dealer and take the Miata Special Edition for a spin. There will only be a few. And a car like this only comes along every now and then.

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Not-So-Groovy Threads

Is the woman of the '90s ready for the '60s?

You've been nervous all day about the job interview. You're cooling your heels in the waiting room, silently rehearsing the pitch about your enthusiasm for a new challenge. Finally, the moment comes. You enter the room and there she is, emerging from behind her huge oak desk to shake your hand. Are you hallucinating? She's wearing a minidress emblazoned with smiley faces.

You may not know it, but your new boss, the fashion victim, is part of a springtime trend. In fashion magazines and women's departments, models and mannequins are stepping straight out of the 1960s in puffy party dresses and brightly decorated minishifts. Women are dressing like little girls again. Or, at least, designers and retailers are conspiring to encourage them to dress that way. Flowers in primary colors are printed on dresses, blouses and skirts. Huge plastic daisies sprout from headbands and drip from jewelry. Colorful patent leather glimmers from shoes, bags and raincoats. And remember those short, short dresses with an empire cut and bouffant skirt that used to be called "baby dolls"—once a popular look for nightgowns? Now they're everywhere.

Baby-doll dresses? After 25 years in the trenches of the women's movement? The development doesn't build confidence in the practicality of modern designers. It's hard to imagine where a mature woman would wear most of these styles. Somehow that little white shift emblazoned with giant ladybugs (by the young design team Mancuso-Witkewicz) doesn't seem appropriate for a mother attending her 8-year-old's school conference—unless she wants to join the class. And it's not easy to envision the perfect customer for Carolyne Roehm's \$3,000 baby-doll evening dress. Made of silk satin in a brown and white ribbon-stripe pattern with an enormous bow in the back, the dress is a vision of childlike femininity. Does some killer executive who fired 10 people last week really have a yen to be Daddy's little girl when she goes out at night?

The mysterious reappearance of styles from the 1960s—which hardly provided fashion's greatest moment—probably reflects desperation more than anything else. Designers are trying to cash in on the optimism of those times to counter the grim recession realities of the 1990s. And some of it works. The brightly colored vinyl



PHOTOS BY LAWRENCE IVY

Ain't she sweet? Suddenly designers are asking women to dress like little girls again



trench coats are upbeat, even if eerily reminiscent of a Barbie doll's wardrobe.

But the stretch backward can reach too far. Bloomingdale's has even unearthed the '60s star André Courrèges and opened a special boutique for him in its New York store—no doubt hoping to spawn a Pucci-style revival. It's stocked with those simple, stark white minidresses that seemed so orderly and futuristic a quarter of a century ago.

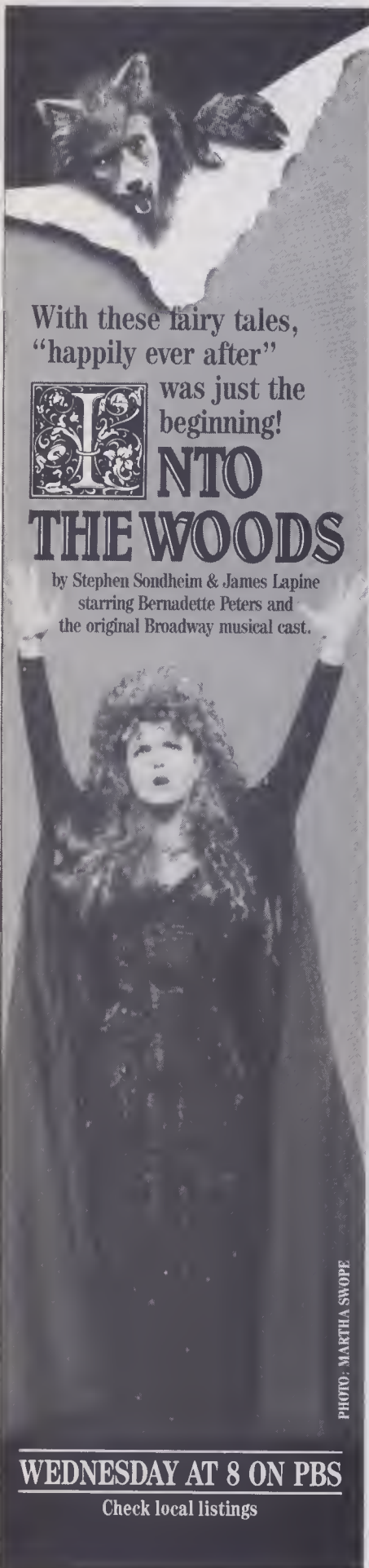
'Retro rehash': Today it just seems naive. "Courrèges used to look like the future," says Lynn Manulis, president of the upscale specialty-store Martha. "Now we've been there and it doesn't look like that." The clothes, for all the hype about reinterpreting old styles in a modern idiom, look like what they are—dated. The fabrics are less stiff and structured than they were 30 years ago, but the effect remains what designer Michael Kors calls "retro rehash." Young designers who parody the past aren't much better. Canada's Jeanette Kastenbergh makes \$800 sequined minidresses adorned with yellow cartoon Tweety birds. Are the women who wear them supposed to lisp, like little Tweety?

Maybe the styles aren't meant to be taken so seriously. But what we wear says a lot about how we see ourselves. Ruth Rubinstein, a sociology professor at the Fashion Institute of Technology in New York City, says that women's clothes express the general Zeitgeist.

"Facing the economy, homelessness, AIDS, the threat to the environment, people feel vulnerable," she says. "These youthful styles reflect that."

But today's women are also aware of the role they play in society. "In the '60s women weren't empowered," says New York writer Leslie Garis. "They were just pretty things next to a man. The clothes infantilized and sexualized you at the same time. That's why I hate them when I see them now." While today's women might cast a nostalgic eye on the simple '60s elegance of Babe Paley or Jackie Kennedy, they have, apparently, outgrown the need to pass themselves off as wide-eyed children. The word from the sales floor is that the cutiepie styles aren't doing so well at the cash register. "The kids like the '60s look," whispers a saleswoman at Macy's. "They buy the cheap knockoffs. But most people over 30 are looking for something else." Grown-up clothes, perhaps.

NINA DARTON



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"happily ever after"

I was just the
beginning!

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by Stephen Sondheim & James Lapine
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PHOTO: MARTHA SWOPE

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Slamming The Doors



The Sixties are now nostalgia, kitsch junk among the clutter in the nation's mental attic

Jim Morrison is dead, dead as a doornail. He has been since 1971, when he expired, bloated and burnt out, in a bathtub in Paris at 27, not a moment too soon. His life was a bad influence. His death was a cautionary reminder of the costs of the Sixties stupidity that went by the puffed-up title of "counterculture." Morrison himself is not particularly interesting, except that he is an obsession to the sort of people who root around reverently in the shards of the Sixties. Now Morrison is back. He is the black hole at the cold heart of the movie "The Doors," which tells the short, sick story of that rock group and Morrison's role as singer.

Oliver Stone, a Sixties-aholic, is the director of the movie, which is fresh evidence that necrophilia—Yo! Elvis!—is a growth industry. Stone, a confused man, says, "There is a major time warp going on here . . . We all feel the '60s are coming back." No, the Sixties are now just nostalgia, kitsch junk among the clutter in the nation's mental attic. That good news suggests that America has matured, even become middle-aged. Not a moment too soon.

Age 27 was something of a ceiling for drugged rockers. Jimi Hendrix and Janis Joplin died at 27. But for many pop-culture figures, an early death was a good career move. James Dean, a three-movie cult figure, died in his Porsche at age 24. Keats, Shelley and Byron, dead at 25, 29 and 36 respectively, left serious legacies. Morrison left some embarrassing poetry and a few mediocre rock albums. He resembled Byron only in being "mad, bad and dangerous to know." He was infantile, unsanitary (how odd that he died in a bathtub), dissolute, sadistic (he sometimes was sexually aroused only by inflicting mental cruelty and physical brutality), occasionally homicidal (as when he locked his girlfriend in a closet and set it afire) and eventually semi-suicidal.

Universities, self-contained communities congenial to the questioning of all authority, were natural incubators of Sixties radicalism and today are its last redoubt. Morrison had a smattering of university experience, enough to acquire a patter of ersatz profundity from French poets. The Doors took their name from William Blake's yearning for more immediate, more intense, more real understanding, or at least sensations: "If the doors of perception were cleansed, everything would appear to man as it is, infinite." In the Sixties, many people intoxicated by such talk thought the cleansing needed chemical assistance. Morrison, an icon of the drug culture, ingested his share of drugs but was basically a drunk.

Morrison's short, shabby life, and its peculiar echo today, express a longing that waxes and wanes like a low-grade infection but never quite disappears from temperate, rational bourgeois societies. It reflects a vague—very vague—desire to (in the words of The Doors' anthem) "break on through to the other side." Through what? To what? Don't ask. The Doors didn't. People who talk like The Doors are not, as such people say, "into" details.

Their point, if a notion so muzzy can be said to have anything as sharp as a point, is that the existential hero is in permanent revolt against society's repressiveness. By being in touch with nature and his vital urges he breaks on through the walls of the mundane world to "authenticity." Evanescent figures like Morrison, manufactured by the music industry, were given inflated importance by the romantic idea that artists are heroes and rockers are artists. How democratic: anyone can qualify. (In the movie, a friend encourages Morrison: "You gotta be able to sing better than Dylan." How true.)

The juvenocracy of rock sniffed the air and decided that the times they were a-changing. Elders were saying so. In 1960, Walter Lippmann said, "We're at the end of something that is petering out and aging and about finished." In 1962 Arthur Schlesinger Jr. announced "a new epoch" of "vitality" and "new values . . . straining for expression and release." Break on through to the other side.

Morrison was not Schlesinger set to music, but both were symptoms of a Sixties disorder. Schlesinger's words "expression" and "release" were part of the mantra of the decade that made Morrison a shooting star, and soon a cinder. The cult of self-validating expression contributed to the debasement of education, which came to be considered a process of letting something out of students rather than of putting something into them. The craving for "release," from reason and other intolerable restraints, led to the confusion of narcissism with freedom.

Urban jungle: Warming up for the Sixties, Norman Mailer wrote "The White Negro," praising "the primitive" in the urban jungle, the "nihilism" that wants "every social restraint" removed. That was in 1957, the year of "West Side Story," a sentimentalizing of juvenile delinquents as Romeos and Juliets. In 1960, Mailer decided "there is a subterranean river of untapped, ferocious, lonely and romantic desires, that concentration of ecstasy and violence which is the dream of the nation." Seeing John Kennedy, Mailer swooned: "The hipster as presidential candidate . . . a cool grace which seemed indifferent to applause . . . the poise of a fine boxer . . . a good lithe wit . . . a keen sense of proportion . . . an elusive detachment . . . manners which were excellent, even artful . . . a subtle, not quite describable intensity, a suggestion of dry pent-up heat . . . the eyes of a mountaineer . . . like Brando . . . Mickey Mantle-cum-Lindbergh . . ."

Teenagers say such stuff when they have a crush on somebody. Clearly some people were turning to politics for almost erotic excitement. Mailer's other heartthrob was the man Kennedy tried to kill, Castro. Mailer loved Castro for "giving us psychic ammunition" for the "desperate silent struggle we have been fighting with sick dead hearts against the cold insidious cancer of the power that governs us." Whew. Castro sure lit Mailer's fire.

The passage of time has broken the big progressive hearts of the people who looked to politics and rock music for salvation and Truth, and who regarded tyrants and rock stars as existential heroes. Those dabblings with serious subjects now seem inexpressibly childish. Has there ever been such politically barren radicalism as that of the Sixties? Morrison said he liked anything having to do with "re-

volt." So what did this little Lenin do to overthrow "the system"? He unzipped his trousers on stage.

Devotees of the Sixties sensibility have broken on through to the other side, all right. Here they stand, blinking in the light, wondering why Americans, including young Americans, are more excited by Norman Schwarzkopf than Jim Morrison. This complicates the task of arguing that "there is a major time warp going on here."

And yet there are faint echoes of those dead days. Now, as then, any moneymaking and publicity-generating bit of popular culture, however trivial or tawdry, can, like *The Doors*, be tarted up to look like a highly moral exercise of "concern" and social criticism. And there are always members of the chattering classes eager to join in the puffery. Consider the case of Bret Easton Ellis.

He is a three-book writer. Formerly a prodigy-by-publicity, he now is a pornographer. He is 27. His first novel, "Less than Zero," was short (208 pages) but too long. It was a mildly interesting sketch of self-absorbed rich and drugged youths in southern California. His second novel really was less than zero. His third novel proves that he was at most a one-book semi-wonder. Simon & Schuster gave him a big advance for "American Psycho," then, to its credit, flinched from publishing it. This refusal generated a gusher of publicity for it. Knopf, dressing up its greed as anti-greed, rushed to publish "American Psycho," which supposedly is a terribly serious "indictment" of the—you guessed it—Reagan Years of Greed.

'Satiric' look: Although Ellis is conventionally dressed and barbered, he is a Morrison for the Nineties. He is, at most, a mildly talented young man. But he is marketed by older people. Some are cynical, others are just incorrigible. (Stormin' Norman Mailer is back.) Presto! Ellis, a triumph of packaging, is a serious critic of America generally but especially of the last decade. "American Psycho" is short on plot and shorter still on characterization. It is long on sexual atrocities interlarded with minute descriptions of designer clothes and pretentious menus and other objects of status-conferring consumption. It is about a Wall Street Yuppie, a serial killer who especially enjoys torturing women, as when he inserts a starving rat into a victim's vagina.

It is (so we are invited to believe) a "satiric" look at callow youth rendered degenerate by the Greed Decade, depraved by effortless wealth and pursuing instant gratification of evermore extreme fantasies. Needless to say, the torturer himself is, well, sort of a victim. Of what? Consumption-crazed American society. You say Ellis's prose is pedestrian? Ah, the banality is a device for brilliantly conveying the barrenness of contemporary America. The book is absurdly padded with brand names? But of course: such a clever way to lampoon America as all surface.

Actually, Ellis is the 2 Live Crew of the literary set, making money from today's depraved appetite for imaginary violence against women. The desensitizing of Americans is a tragedy for an increasingly violent nation but a

market opportunity for the likes of Ellis. It may seem paradoxical to call his pornography boring, but it is. Making sadism boring may seem to be a literary achievement of sorts, but pornography always is boring, for the same reason Morrison's frenetic attempts to be "outrageous" were boring. Adult infantilism is not interesting, other than clinically.

However, Norman Mailer offers an equivocal defense of Ellis served up (in *Vanity Fair*) with wheezy bromides ("Without serious art the universe is doomed") and the faintest possible praise: The novel "is not written so badly that one can reject it with clear conscience." Mailer says it is a "serious" book, a "black comedy." Useful, too. "Art serves us best precisely at that point where it can shift our sense of what is possible." Ah. Perhaps that is the purpose of the rat in the vagina. Mailer's idea seems to be that the book is provoked by, and needed by, our rotten society. Ours is "a world which, by spiritual measure, if we could

measure it, might be worse than any of the worlds preceding it."

Mailer limps to a lame, utilitarian conclusion: perhaps "American Psycho" will prevent sadistic crimes. (Harmless catharsis for potential homicidal maniacs?) Ellis's shockingness may be, Mailer thinks, therapeutic for us all, blasting society out of its death-of-the-spirit that has been caused by greed, Reagan, etc. "Ellis," says Mailer, "wants to break through steel walls." Go for it, Bret: Break on through to the other side.

Myth of the Sixties: Ellis is, as Morrison was, his own fault. If society has made some small contribution to such shambles, it is this. Ellis in his way, and Morrison in his, illustrate a particular fate for certain youths. In Randall Jarrell's novel "Pictures from an Institution" a foreign visitor says, "You Americans do not rear children, you *incite* them; you give them food and shelter

and applause." The problem is juvenophilia. It is the foolishness of listening for wisdom from the mouths of babes and hoping that youthful vigor (the favorite word along the New Frontier when the Sixties were aborning) will liberate by smashing suffocating old structures. Remember the Founding Father, Chuck Berry: "Hail, hail, rock and roll, deliver me from the days of old."

"The planet is screaming for change, Morrison," says one of *The Doors* in Stone's movie. "We have to make the myths." The central myth of the Sixties was that the wretched excess was really a serious quest for new values. And there always will be a few who seek salvation from cathartic rock music, orgasmic politics and pornography masquerading as social profundity. Today there are many people who are willing to plunk down good money to see Morrison brought back to life, and death, for two hours. But for today's audiences, Stone's loving re-creation of San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury district is just a low-rent Williamsburg, an interesting artifact but no place for a pilgrimage. As the years pass, more and more Americans will say, "The Sixties? I never was there—but I saw the movie." The Sixties are dead. Not a moment too soon. ■

KEN REGAN—CAMERA 5



Jim Morrison



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WARNER BROS.

Speak softly, and carry a big knife: Freeman in 'Robin Hood'

A Forest Full of Wise Guys

It may be stereotyping, but Morgan Freeman is wise not to complain. Lately he's been consistently cast as a sage old man in an average guy's clothing. It was so in "Driving Miss Daisy" and it was so in "Gloria." It's so, too, in "Robin Hood:

Prince of Thieves"—but this time the clothing is far funkier, and he gets to carry a big knife. In this latest film version of the legendary tale, Freeman is Azeem, wise Saracen friend to Kevin Costner's Robin. It'll be in theaters in June.

Political Overtures

It isn't over 'til the governor sings—in Connecticut, anyway. Gov. Lowell Weicker had a 12-minute walk-on part as a naval officer in the Connecticut Opera's production of "Madame Butterfly" last week. He wasn't asked to sing, but before going on he warned "that doesn't mean I won't." An opera buff since the age of 12, Weicker called his role "one of the more exciting moments in life for someone who wanted to be an opera singer and ended up a lowly politician."



GALE ZUCKER

Weicker with Cio-Cio-San

TRANSITION

SWITCHED: Gov. Buddy Roemer, 47, of Louisiana, from a Democrat to a Republican; in Baton Rouge, La., March 11. Known for his independence, Roemer had lost popularity with Democrats and faced tough competition in the fall election from former governor Edwin W. Edwards.

FINISHED: The baseball career of underwear model and former Baltimore Orioles pitcher Jim Palmer, 45; in Clearwater, Fla., March 12. Palmer's attempt to be the only player to make a comeback after being elected to the Hall of Fame ended last week when he tore a hamstring.

SETTLED: The criminal case against the Exxon Corp. arising from the 1989 Exxon Valdez oil spill in Alaska; in Washington, March 12. Exxon pleaded guilty to four misdemeanor violations of environmental statutes and agreed to pay a \$100 million fine. The company's payments stemming from the spill could total \$1.1 billion.

BROKEN: The world pole vault record, by Sergei Bubka of the Soviet Union, 27, in San Sebastián, Spain. Bubka became the first human to clear 20 feet with his 20-foot, ¼-inch jump.

SIGNED: A seven-figure deal between Random House and Marlon Brando, 66, for the actor's autobiography; in New York, March 11.

DIED: LeRoy Collins, 82, governor of Florida from 1955 to 1961; of cancer, in Tallahassee, March 12. Collins was an early leader in the struggle to create an integrated "New South."

Disney lyricist Howard Ashman, 40; of AIDS complications, in New York, March 14. Ashman won the 1989 Academy Award for Best Song for "Under the Sea" from "The Little Mermaid."

Spin Control

Gen. Colin Powell got a fast break from everyday Pentagoning last week when the Harlem Globetrotters presented him with a team jacket (red, white and blue, of course) and a plaque thanking him for "making the world a safer place." No dribbler himself, Powell nonetheless tried his hand at some trademark Globetrotter antics. He did just fine—generally speaking.

LYDIA DENWORTH



JOHN DURICKA—AP

Antics: Powell with Globetrotters Dunbar, Jackson and Lockhart

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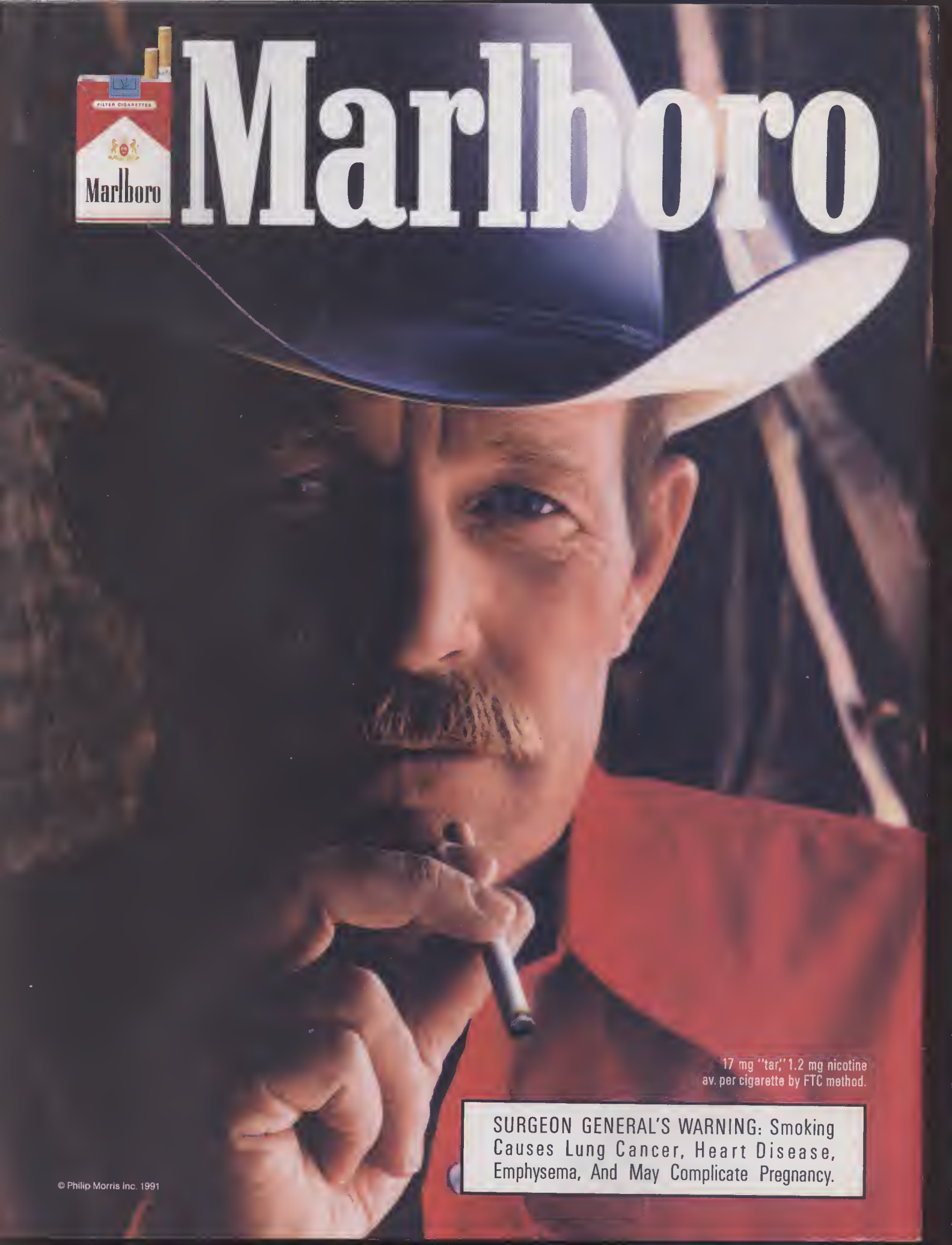
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